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MESSIAHS: CHRISTIAN AND PAGAN

WILSON D. WALLIS

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BY

WILSON D. WALLIS

BOSTON
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TO

THE MEMORY OF

WILLIAM H. GOODING

TEACHER, FRIEND, GUIDE

" Christianity, after all, is, in one respect, a manifestation conditioned by time and circumstance. Even if the Church was divinely instituted, its history cannot be entirely dissevered from the general history of religious belief."— R. R. Marett, *Magic or Religion?* in The *Edinburg Review*, April, 1914.

" There is a unity in the history of nature and of men." — W. Douglas Mackenzie.

PREFACE

SAMUEL BUTLER once remarked that "the more original a writer is, the more pleasure will he take in calling attention to the forgotten work of those who have gone before him." The present writer would, indeed, fain be original in the sense denoted by Butler, but the circumstances surrounding the subject of messianic religions seem successfully to preclude this type of originality. The topic of messianic religions, in its wider bearings, has been, so far as we are aware, a neglected one. Nowhere do we have a study of the distribution of these phenomena. Neither, it would seem, has any one attempted to correlate the phenomena of a given culture with other social or political conditions so as to give us an insight into causes, or even occasions.

From this point of view it must be confessed that not even the Jewish messianic movements, the best known and most studied of all of them, have ever received adequate treatment. Theologians have generally restricted their studies to a particular period or to a particular influence, paying more attention to textual matters than to sociological and psychological conditions. Even those who have approached the matter historically, as, for example, Greenstone in his study of *The Messiah Idea,* have left large gaps in the evidence and seem unaware of the connecting threads and the similar underlying conditions that open up a large field for original investigation. Mooney and Chamberlain, among ethnologists, have approached the study of American messianic movements from a more profitable angle, but they too have left the evidence incomplete.

Although it seems safe to say that no one has attempted this most important study in comparative religion and sociology, the need for such an investigation has more than once been pointed out by scholars who were familiar with at

least some important phases of the major topic. Foremost among these are three American scholars, two of them theologians, and the other a psychologist, who was earlier a student of theology, and who has remained deeply interested in anthropological theory and Weltanschauung — G. Stanley Hall.

In 1892 Dr. Ellinwood in lectures given in Union Theological Seminary, New York City, called attention to the universality of a vague expectation of coming messiahs, than which, he declared, " nothing found in the study of the religious history of mankind is more striking." He pointed out that " in modern as well as in ancient times nations and races have looked for deliverers or for some brighter hope. The very last instance of an anxious looking for a deliverer is that which quite recently has so sadly misled our Sioux Indians." (*Oriental Religions and Christianity,* 282–5, New York, 1896. Second Edition.)

Several years later another American Biblical scholar insisted that " Jewish and Christian scholars ought to be able by this time to break the spell of a name and to accord a fair judgment to those political leaders, social reformers, mystics, and prophets who from Simon bar Kozeba to Sabatai Zewi have assumed or received from others the title of the Messiah. . . . These Messianic movements should also be more closely examined in the light of similar phenomena in the East which is so prodigal with the Saoshyants, Mahdis, prophets and revealers." (Nathaniel Schmidt, *The Prophet of Nazareth,* 93, 1905.) G. Stanley Hall has more recently emphasised this need. (In the first volume of *The American Journal of Religious Psychology* and in *Jesus and Christ in the Light of Recent Psychology,* 1917.)

These suggestions have been little heeded. Although we have descriptions of Messiahs and of messianic movements among various peoples there is nowhere, so far as we have been able to ascertain, any comprehensive description or interpretation of them. For this task the writer can profess no especial fitness. On the contrary, he is especially unfitted for many of its extreme demands of scholarship and erudition. Being unable to control much of the source material

he has had to depend on translations and the corroborations of more able scholars. It will not be surprising if this has led to mistakes in more than one instance, though in no case has he ventured to decide where specialists in their field have disagreed.

Neither can he profess to have presented the data in its completeness. The lacunae will probably not be filled until some published work has called the attention of scholars to a field of research in comparative religion and sociology whose importance has never been adequately realized. If the present work is influential to this end its existence will be justified.

Theologians may retain their peculiar right to judge of the sources which only such thorough scholarship as they possess is able to interpret confidently. But they can no longer claim that the interpretation of the meaning of the facts which they adduce belongs exclusively to them — if, indeed, they have ever made such a claim. The messianic faiths which they present appear in Judaism, but they are not its peculiar possession. Rather do they belong to humanity. They are a phase of human life which has its parallels in many widely separated, and historically unrelated, regions of the globe; they constitute one chapter in the exulting, if often mistaken, faith of mankind, their complement being found in Mohammedanism, in Buddhism, and in those cruder cultures which pertain to savagery. The light of universality must play upon them, in order that we may ascertain wherein they are the outcome of the genius of the Semite, and wherein they share in a larger human brotherhood. In no other way can they be properly evaluated.

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MESSIAHS:
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CHAPTER I

THE MESSIANIC MOVEMENT IN JUDAISM

The Background of Jewish Messianic Hope

THE cruder view that each people is responsible for its own life and development has given place to the more fruitful view that no people is solely responsible for its social life and ideals. These can be shown, in many cases, to have been inspired by surrounding and older cultures which have left an impress upon their neighbours. The early life of Judaism is, accordingly, to be found, not in the oldest documents which they have left us, but in the older contiguous cultures that represent, in part, the dawn of their own life. The Jewish people are members of a larger group of influences that have shot through their civilization giving it new content and, often, new trend.

It detracts nothing from the genius of this race to discover that the messianic idea itself, which is generally supposed peculiar to Judaism, has its roots elsewhere and is, after all, only a transplanted idea flourishing more luxuriantly and more persistently in a more favourable soil. Assyria, Babylonia, and Egypt have, each of them, probably, influenced Israel in generating the messianic ideal, as well as in many other ways.

Thus, Asurnasipal's prayer to Ishtar shows belief in the divine mission of the ruler — a prominent idea in the early Jewish belief:

"But thou, O Ishtar, mighty princess of the gods, in lifting up thine eyes didst thou teach me, and didst desire my

rule. Thou didst take from out of the mountains and didst call me to the threshold of the people, thou didst preserve for me the sceptre of the temples until the becoming old of mankind. And thou, O Ishtar, didst make great my name, and thou hast granted to the faithful salvation, mercy." [*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, V (1890), p. 70.]

Similarly, in Egypt, Merneptah is praised as the divinely-sent protector of Egypt's peace: "Great joy has come into Egypt, rejoicing comes forth from the town of Tomeri (*i. e.*, Egypt). They converse of the victories which Merneptah has achieved among the Tehenu: 'How amiable is he, the victorious ruler, how magnified is the king among the gods, how fortunate is he, the commanding lord; sit happily down and talk or walk, or walk far out upon the way, for there is no fear in the heart of the people.'" [Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, III, 263. Chicago, 1906. God (Egyptian), Hastings' E.R.E., VI, 278.]

In what is known as the Leiden papyrus, No. 344, translated by Alan H. Gardiner under the title, "Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage" (Leipzig, 1909), there are elements that come close to the messianic ideal, and at least distinctly adumbrate it. The date of the document is not settled, some Egyptologists placing it about the middle of the seventeenth or the sixteenth century, others believing it prior to the year 2100. By either reckoning it easily antedates the appearance of the messianic idea in Judaism. The speaker, Ipuwer, represents first a state of calamity:

"The door-keepers say . . . Let us go and plunder. The washerman refuses to carry his load. A man looks upon his son as his enemy. The virtuous man walks in mourning on account of that which has happened in the land. The wrong-doer is everywhere. Plague is throughout the land. Blood is everywhere. Crocodiles are glutted with what they have captured, men go to them of their own accord. Forsooth, hair has fallen out for every one. Great and small say: 'I wish I might die.' Little children say: 'He ought never to have caused me to live.' Forsooth, all animals, their hearts weep. Cattle moan because of the state of the land. A man strikes his brother, the son of his

mother. The roads are guarded. Men sit over the bushes until the benighted traveller comes, in order to plunder his burden. What is upon him is taken away. He is belabored with blows of the stick, and slain wrongfully. Forsooth, grain has perished on every side. All is ruin."

The social order is overwhelmed. "Forsooth, poor men are become owners of good things. He who could make for himself no sandals is now the possessor of riches."

There is no longer respect for law. "Forsooth, the splendid judgment-hall, its writings are taken away. Behold the judges of the land are driven out through the land."

After this array of calamities comes the Messiah — if such we may call him. "He bringeth coolness upon that which is hot. It is said he is the herdsman of mankind. No evil is in his heart. When his herds are few, he passes the day to gather them together, their hearts being on fire. Would that he had perceived their nature in the first generation of mankind; then he would have repressed evil, he would have stretched forth his arm against it; he would have destroyed their seed and their inheritance. Where is he to-day? Is he sleeping? Behold, his might is seen."

By Professors H. O. Lange, Ed. Meyer, J. H. Breasted, and others, this has been interpreted as messianic, the prophecy of a coming prince who would rescue and heal his people, restoring Egypt to her old-time place of prestige and power. A. H. Gardiner refers it to an account of the activity of the god Re, the creator and preserver of mankind, whose return to the earth will restore peace and prosperity. Since Re was regarded as the first king and all subsequent kings as the "sons of Re," it would, as Prof. J. M. P. Smith observes, be natural to think of the messiah king as a re-incarnation of Re. "Indeed," to quote Prof. Smith, "we recall that Micah speaks of a coming Messiah 'whose origins are from of old, from ancient time.' It is to be noticed, however, as Gardiner reminds us, that Ipuwer does not *predict* the coming of the messianic ruler, but merely gives expression to his longing that such an one might appear. Whether or not the thought is concerned with an individual Messiah in the ordinary sense of the word, the context is too uncertain to determine. But

it is perfectly clear," and this is a point we would stress, " it is perfectly clear that there is here presented a longing for the coming of a golden age such as that so gloriously depicted and so confidently predicted by the prophets of the Old Testament." [J. M. P. Smith, Semitic Prophecy, in the *Biblical World*, Vol. 35, No. 4 (April, 1910), p. 223–33. J. H. Breasted, The Earliest Social Prophet, in the *American Journal of Theology*, Jan., 1910.]

These ideas are, in many respects, similar to the early Jewish hopes wherein the prophets lament the evils that befall the people under wicked rulers, and paint, in contrast, that ideal kingdom of the future when the righteous king shall reign and peace shall prevail.

Hammurabi, like other Babylonian rulers, was a descendant of the gods, their representative on earth, and was expected to inaugurate a golden age of peace. [Cheney believes the Jewish messianic hope may be the result of Babylonian influence. See Messiah, *Ency. Bibl.* The view that it is derived from Chaldea is advanced by H. P. Blavatsky, *Isis Unveiled*, II, 256. Madras, 1910.]

From other older Oriental cultures there comes an unmistakable strain of messianic hope. " Wake! Be thyself! Arise, Scourge of thy Foes! " is the admonition of Krishna in the Bhagavad-Gita.

In Zoroastrian religion the idea of a savior, political and moral, is clearly developed. The concept of the Iranian messiah, the Saoshyant, is implied, if not plainly expressed in the Gathas, the oldest portion of the Avesta, while in the later Avesta, the nineteenth Yast, the idea reaches fruition. In the later Pahlavi texts it is developed in some detail. The Saoshyant is the greatest and last of the three millenial prophets and will usher in the day of judgment for all mankind. The way is paved by his predecessors, Ukhshetara, Aushetar, and Ukhshatnemah, or Aushetar-mah, each of whom rule or supervise for a thousand years, the world, meanwhile, undergoing slight improvement. The Saoshyant is assisted in his first duties, supervising the resurrection of the dead, by fifteen men and fifteen maidens. A mystic drink confers immortality upon the resuscitated, and the Saoshyant

then proceeds to recompense all according to their deeds. [Art. on Saoshyant, in New Intern. Ency. (1911). N. Söderblom, La Vie Future D'Apres Mazdeisme, 305–8, 246–7. Angers, 1901. J. H. Moulton, *Early Religious Poetry of Persia*. Cambridge, 1911. Incarnation (Parsi) in Hastings' E.R.E., VII, 198. Ages of the World (Zoroastrian), Ib., I, 205–10. Messiah, Ib., VIII, 579. Gaster, however, insists that the Zoroastrian Taheb, or Messiah, plays as colorless a part as the Messiah in the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs or in the Apocalypse of Baruch. See Art. Parsiism in Judaism, in Hastings' E.R.E., IX (1917), p. 640.]

The Fathers of the Church regarded Orpheus as the forerunner of Christ, remarking that he had come to teach mankind and had died a tragic death. In fact a Roman emperor placed in his private chapel a statue of Orpheus beside the statue of the Christian Messiah. [Hutton Webster, *Ancient History*, 513 (D. C. Heath & Co. 1913).]

The Greeks, however, had no typical messiahs, though elements of messianism had entered feebly into the religious as well as into the social and political life. The Eleusinian mysteries conducted the initiate into a new world of saving, if not absolving grace. The rebirth to a new life was symbolized in the Demeter and Persephone myth, known to all Greeks, and in the Dionysian rites divine inspiration was expected. [Farnell, in art. on Greek Religion in Hastings' E.R.E. For a fuller account, see the excellent chapter on Hellenistic Religions of Redemptions, in S. J. Case, *Evolution of Early Christianity*. Chicago, 1914.]

Even in Rome itself, cold, austere, self-controlled, and wonderfully cosmopolite, vague foreshadowings of a messianic kingdom are not wanting. The Golden Age pictured by Virgil will be established by Augustus Caesar, offspring of a god, than whom, sings Horace,

> . . . no boon of nobler worth
> Fate or kind gods ere gave, or ere shall give
> Ev'n though the golden age upon the earth
> Once more may live again.

Caesar "lives to save"— a "winged god who deigns to don a manly frame," a "present god." He is a "patrimonial Zeus, and savior of the common race of mankind, all of whose prayers Providence has not only fulfilled but even surpassed. For earth and sea have peace, cities flourish, well-governed, harmonious, and prosperous, the course of all good things has reached a climax, and all mankind has been filled with hopes for the future and good cheer for the present." Such is the optimistic doctrine recorded in a Halicarnassus inscription. [Ch. on The Religious Significance of Emperor-Worship in S. J. Case, op. cit., and W. Warde Fowler and others, *Virgil and the Messianic Eclogue.*] And so the devout Roman believed that "the birthday of the divine Caesar, which we might justly rate equal to the beginning of all creation, gave another aspect to the whole world, which would truly have perished utterly had not Caesar, the common good fortune of all men, been born."

Thus the Eastern pagan world found its Messiah in Caesar, the language in some places bearing a close resemblance in form as well as in spirit to the Jewish messianic psalms and prophecies. For example, an inscription, dated 9–4 B. C., in honor of the birthday of Augustus, declares:

"This day has given the earth an entirely new aspect. . . . Rightly does he judge who recognises in this birthday the beginning of life and of all the powers of life; now is the time ended when men pitied themselves for being born. All-ruling Providence has filled this man with such gifts for the salvation of the world as designate him the Saviour for us and for the coming generations; of wars will he make an end, and establish all things worthily. The birthday of God has brought to the world glad tidings. From his birthday a new era begins." [W. Ramsay, *Letters to the Seven Churches*, 436. London, 1904. Art., Emperor-Worship, Dict. of the Apostolic Church, I, 330–2. The hymns and eclogues of Virgil were later confused with the Messianic outlook of the prophets. Hastings' E.R.E., VI, 717. Art., Caesarism, in Hastings' E.R.E., III, 50–6.]

The words of the Sibylline Oracle, given by Virgil some fifty years before the birth of Christ, are as follows: "The

last era, the subject of the Sibyl song of Cumae, has now arrived; the great series of ages begins anew. The virgin returns — returns the reign of Saturn. The progeny from heaven now descends. Be thou propitious to the Infant Boy by whom the Iron Age shall expire, and the Golden Age over the whole world shall commence. Whilst thou, O Pollio, art consul, this glory of our age shall be made manifest, and the celestial months begin their revolutions. Under thy auspices whatever vestiges of our guilt remain, shall, by being atoned for, redeem the earth from fear forever. He shall partake of the life of the gods. He shall reign over a world in peace with his father's virtues. The earth, sweet boy, as her first fruits, shall pour thee forth spontaneous flowers."

Whether this reflects the influence of Hebrew prophecy, or is an adaptation of those prevailing Roman ideas that later expanded into a fully developed emperor worship under Augustus, it is at least the expression of a vague messianic expectation, even though the Messiah be identified as the ruling Caesar or as the heir to the throne. [See on this point Ellinwood, *Oriental Religions and Christianity*, 283–4.]

For Nero an almost messianic reign was to commence in the East. [E. Renan, *The Anti-Christ.*] Vespasian, no doubt as a result of the Jewish influences by which he was surrounded, was induced to accept a messianic character, and to show works of healing and miracles in support of his claims. [Tacitus, Hist., IV, 81–2; Suetonius, Vesp., 7; Dion Cass., LXVI, 8.] Messianic ideas were, in fact, rife in the Roman empire about this time and liable to attach to any emperor. They represent, however, the influence of Jewish thought upon Roman life rather than the reverse, and are really an offshoot of Jewish messianic faith. The messianic beliefs of Christians of the first and second centuries A. D. offered comfort to the citizens of the Eternal City, proud mistress of the world, as well as to poverty-stricken Jewish exiles. [Art. on Akiba Ben Joseph, in Hastings' E.R.E., I, 275. Antichrist, Dict. of Apost. Church, I, 67–8. Beast, Ib., and in Dict. of Christ and the Gospels. Apocalypse, Ency. Bibl., I, 210–1.]

After this brief survey of surrounding cultures let us turn to

The Growth of the Messianic Idea in Old Testament Times

From the first, Jewish national life was closely linked with the religious. Jehovah was the god of the Hebrews and for the Hebrews, national in every sense of the word, and in no sense international. Moses, the law-giver and religion-giver, rose at a time of great need when the Jews were hard-pressed from without and in danger of losing national integrity and independence. When Moses seemed to fail them in the wilderness and they no longer had actual every-day guidance they turned, disappointed, from his God and worshipped a golden calf.

Nathan Spira, preacher and rector of the Talmudic academy in Cracow (1585–1633), a specialist on the Practical Cabala, published in Cracow in 1627 a book called *Discovering Deep Things*, in which he argued that Moses prayed to God concerning the appearance of the two Messiahs of the house of Joseph and David. [Dubnow, I, 135.] The supposition that Moses predicted the Messiah is based on Deut. xviii. 18: "I will raise them up a Prophet from among their brethren, like unto thee, and will put my words in his mouth; and he shall speak unto them all that I shall command him." The Jewish rabbis drew elaborate parallels between Moses and the Messiah. [See J. H. Allen, *Hebrew Men and Times from the Patriarchs to the Messiah*, 392–3. Boston, 1883. L. S. Houghton, *Hebrew Life and Thought*, 306. Chicago 1906. A. H. Lewis, *Paganism Surviving in Christianity*, 54–6. New York, 1892. William Smith (*Old Testament History from the Creation to the Return of the Jews from Captivity*, 19, 70. New York N. D.) finds promise of the Messiah given in the Garden of Eden as well as later to Abraham. See also S. Schechter, *Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology*, 291–2. New York 1910.]

This seventeenth century view seems odd to us to-day. Yet half a century has not elapsed since an American theologian advanced the idea that "in some sense, vague perhaps, [Abraham] foresaw a Messiah and a Kingdom of Righteousness, and he was girded with confidence to the last, though he died without the sight." [Frank F. Ellinwood,

Oriental Religions and Christianity, 365. New York 2nd ed. 1896.]

There is, of course, no doubt that the messianic idea had its Biblical inception at a much later period. The Prophets who wrote before the Assyrian captivity seem concerned mainly, if not solely, with immediate political ills and remedies. They deal with present evils and warn the people to repent because of impending disasters. It is not until after the captivity that we find distinct promise of an ultimate rather than an immediate millennium, in the form of a Messianic Age wherein all wrongs will be righted. The return of the Jews under Zerubbabel had been a disappointment, now that the commonplaces and hardships of habitation in the actual Jerusalem had displaced the glamour which surrounded the Holy City when they longed for it, captives in a foreign land. They had not successfully established national autonomy. Theirs was not the position among the nations of the world which their pride and ambition demanded. Unequal to these demands — so at least they thought — were their leaders. Amid these conditions there evolved the idea of a Messiah, ideal and distant rather than immediate and merely practical, who would fulfil national ambitions. As the Messianic Age became increasingly needed national impatience insisted on fixing its date. [Cornill has advanced the view that Zerubbabel was regarded as the Messiah. Carl H. Cornill, *The Prophets of Israel: Popular Sketches from Old Testament History*, 150. Chicago, 1907. Translated by S. F. Corkran. Seventh Edition. The book is one of the best of the earlier expositions. Cheney endorses Cornill. Messiah, Ency. Bibl., III, 3059.]

Most of the Old Testament prophets were inspired with the ideal of a social regeneration of regenerate Israel. It was especially during periods of national stress that promise was given of a Messiah who would cleanse the nation and raise it to a position above all its neighbors. The exaltation of Jahweh-worship to its preeminent position above all of the other cults seems to have owed its great impetus to the spur of a national enthusiasm, in answer to a dangerous external attack upon the existence of Israel and of Israel's

God. "This final touch was given by the aggression of Assyria, and, later, of Babylon. For two years the two tiny Israelitish kingdoms had maintained a precarious independence between the mighty empires of Egypt and Mesopotamia. In the eighth century it became certain that they could no longer play their accustomed game of clever diplomacy and polite subjection. The very existence of Israel was at stake; and the fanatical worshippers of Jahweh broke out in that memorable ecstasy of enthusiasm which we may fairly call the Age of the Prophets, and which produced the earliest masterpieces of Hebrew literature in the wild effort to oppose to the arms of the invaders the passive resistance of the supreme Jahweh. In times of old, the prophets say, when Jahweh led the forces of Israel, the horses and the chariots of their enemies counted for nought: if in this crisis Israel would cease to think of aid from Egypt or alliance with Assyria — if Israel would get rid of all her other gods and trust only to Jahweh — then Jahweh would break asunder the strength of Assyria and would reduce Babylon to nothing before his chosen people." [Grant Allen, *Evolution of the Idea of God*, Ch. X; Prideaux, *Old and New Testament*, I, 62, 141, 227.] This was the language of Isaiah in the crisis of a grave national danger. [See Ewald, *Die Lehre der Bibel von Gott*, Bk. III, and his *Old Testament Theology*, 363 (translated by Goodby). Also S. D. F. Salmond, *The Christian Doctrine of Immortality* (1903).] Under the Restoration, when the people and prophets alike were optimistic about the present and the immediate future, the messianic idea was not so strongly dominant. [Judaism, Hastings' E.R.E., VII, 586, 595. C. F. Kent, *The Origin and Permanent Value of the Old Testament*, 119–21. New York, 1906.] The forecast of a bright future became more vivid and more concrete as the circumstances of the time seemed the more to contradict it. C'est quand tout semblera perdu que tout sera vraiment suavé, said a Frenchman to his compatriots after the Prussian invasion and the Paris revolution. Jeremiah made a similar remark to his brethren after the invasion of Palestine.

The Babylonian exile was not only a crisis representing a

fundamental social and political transformation in Israel, but was equally a period of religious transformation. The destruction of the ancient state cleared the way for the construction of the new, and religion and ritual underwent revision in keeping with the political changes. [C. F. Kent, *Hist. of Jewish People during the Babylonian, Persian, and Greek Periods*, 92–8, 147–53. New York 1910. Kittel, *History of the Hebrews*, II, 319, 346; in the German edition, II, 432, 480. Gotha, 1909. Emil Schürer, *History of the Jewish People in the Time of Christ. First Division*, I, 188ff. Hugo Winckler, *Geschichte Israels in Einzeldarstellungen*, I., chapter entitled Der Jahvismus und die Propheten in Politishen Leben, 78–113. Leipzig 1895. S. E. Fuller, *Historical and Religious Significance of the Reign of Manassah*, see esp. 71–91. Leipzig 1912. An account of Messianic hope is given by H. O. Taylor, *Ancient Ideals*, II, 146–71, 132, 228–31. See also Ewald, *History of Israel*, III, 11, 202, 226, 242, 272, 292; IV, 19, 50, 59–63; V, 67–9.]

In the time of the prophets Isaiah and Jeremiah, "in its complete form the Messianic expectation involved four things: the punishment of foreign nations; the restoration of Israel to its own land; a new covenant; and the rule of a king of David's line. . . . The political coloring varies greatly," some hearts ardently longing for the supremacy over other nations, while some yearn more for a religious regeneration. Isaiah's prediction of the child to be born, whose name, Emmanuel, will testify to the deliverance of Jerusalem from its besiegers, suggests a rapturous description of the Coming One, whose very name indicates that he will be a hero prince, godlike in his deeds (Isaiah 9:5). [Henry Preserved Smith, *The Religion of Israel*, 247–8.] The Jews seem to have held throughout to a belief that only a supernatural power could save a nation that is once started on the road to ruin. [J. E. Dewe, *Psychology of Politics and History*, 180. 1910. Emil Schürer, op. cit.] Indeed, Jahweh may intentionally allow Israel to be conquered by Babylon in order to awake their faith in him and so, through disaster, secure their united conversion: "that they may know from the rising of the sun, and from the west, that

there is no God beside me" (Isaiah xlv).

There is no doubt that as Israel's day waned more and more, faith learned to cling with an intenser grasp to this expectation of the consummation of a divine kingdom, and to the prospect of the coming of Jehovah Himself to reign on earth. The message of prophecy became in increasing measure the announcement of a future which God held for the theocracy, wherein right should finally be done to his people, justice executed upon His enemies, and hope fulfilled. As the vision of the Messianic era became larger and clearer, the whole conception of the future partook of this expansion and illumination. [Salmond, *The Christian Doctrine of Immortality*, 208. Edinburgh, 1903.] In later years, when the Messiah's coming seemed too long postponed, impatient Jews (and Christians) asked: "Where is his promised coming, for since the fathers fell asleep, all things remain in the same condition as since the creation" (2 Peter iii. 4). To arouse and invigorate, a Messiah is needed. [See Huidekofer, *Judaism at Rome*, 259.]

The messianic hope has served as a powerful stimulus to self-preservative effort. When Israel, at whatever period in its history, was impelled to a more vigorous religious life, its marvellous ancient courage against external enemies revived: witness the days of Josiah, those of Zedekiah, those also of Zerubbabel. [Ewald, *History of Israel*, IV, 242, 272; V, 117, 27.]

To assert that these efforts were self-preservative is not inconsistent with the fact that every recrudescence of nationalism has brought misfortune to the Jews and to Judaism, that "it was the cause of the catastrophe of 578 B. C., of the fall of the Maccabees, of the decay of the Sadducees, of the destruction by Titus, and of the desolation of Judaea in 136." [Herbert Loewe, in Judaism, Hastings' E.R.E., VII, 608, seems to imply otherwise.]

The Messianic Idea in the Apocryphal Books — The First Two Centuries B. C. and the First Century A. D.

The development of the messianic hope in the decades preceding and following the appearance of Christianity can be

read in the Apocryphal books, made accessible to the lay world largely through the patient efforts of Dr. R. H. Charles. As has been mentioned, in the second century B. C., the messianic hope was practically non-existent. "So long as Judas and Simon were chiefs of the nation, the need of a Messiah was hardly felt. But in the first half of the next century (i. e., the first century B. C.) it was very different. Subject to ruthless oppressions, the righteous were in sore need of help. But inasmuch as the Maccabean princes were themselves the leaders in this oppression, the thoughts of the faithful were forced to look for divine aid. Thus the bold and original thinker to whom we owe the Parables conceived the Messiah as the supernatural Son of Man, who should enjoy universal dominion and execute judgment on men and angels. But other religious thinkers, returning to the study of the Old Testament, revived the expectation of the prophetic Messiah, sprung from the house and lineage of David. These very divergent conceptions took such a firm hold of the national consciousness that henceforth the Messiah becomes almost the central and chief figure in the Messianic kingdom." [R. H. Charles, *Eschatology*, 296.] The Messiah would, after purging Jerusalem, allow no stranger to dwell within the gates; "the sojourner and the stranger shall dwell with them no more," says the Psalms of Solomon (written 70–40 B. C.). As for the ungodly nations he will destroy them with the word of his mouth; the hostile nations shall be destroyed.

He shall judge the nations and the peoples with the wisdom of his righteousness
And he shall possess the nations of the heathen to serve him beneath his yoke.
And he shall have mercy on all the nations that come before him in fear.
(Yea) the nations shall come from the ends of the world to see his glory,
Bringing as gifts her sons that had fainted.

The future that is predicted and fondly hoped for is the time when God will succor his own people, the psalmists dwell-

ing on the vengeance that will befall hostile nations and the sinners among men, rather than on the saving features of this kingdom. It was to be not so much a kingdom of grace as one of power vindicating national superiority. In the Apocalypse of Baruch, written in the second half of the first century A. D., the Messiah, who in the first Apocalypse is conceived as wholly passive, is here pictured as a warrior who slays the enemies of Israel with his own hand. "Against Him all the heathen powers are arrayed under a great leader." [Ib., 327.]

For the Pharisee who wrote the Similitudes of Enoch, "the blood of the martyred Pharisees cries out to Heaven, and the angels of heaven join their supplications with those of the living. He finds relief in two directions: first, in his conception of the origin of evil, and, second, in the belief in a preexistent Messiah, who will come and establish a universal kingdom of righteousness, and execute judgment upon all." (Ib., 75.) Israel, oppressed from without, must have a new ruler, one who brings with him not only new religious conceptions but new temporal authority that will vindicate the reality of this people's racial authority, and vanquish every formidable foe.

That portion of the Book of Sirach (second century B. C.) which refers to a Messianic hope Schmidt [See *Ecclesiasticus*, in the Temple Bible, p. xxvi.] believes to be "manifestly an interpolation." However this may be, "it voices the feelings of a people sorely oppressed by a foreign enemy, longing for deliverance and vengeance, encouraged by prophecies concerning the 'end' and anxious to see the fulfilment of their predictions."

As regards the distribution and occurrence of the Messianic belief the absence of it in certain of the Jewish apocryphal literature is no less significant than its presence in other writings. We have noted its prevalence in the literature of doctrinally torn Palestine during the century or more preceding the appearance of Christ, and in the first century of our era. In none of the Alexandrian literature of these centuries, however, do we find expression of the hope of a personal Messiah. Its absence in the Alexandrian writings is

" explained by the fact that, removed from the center of political aspiration and life, and influenced by the more spiritualized Judaism represented in the Book of Wisdom, the faith and ideals of the Alexandrian Jews did not suffer secularization to the same extent as those of their Palestinian brethren." [It must be pointed out, however, that if the conception of a personal Messiah is absent, that of a messianic kingdom is not. The book known as Slavonic Enoch, for example, represents this kingdom as being realized in a coming millennium — not as near at hand.]

Great is the contrast in the Palestinian literature of the same centuries, wherein " we can trace diversity and modification of the Messianic belief." The Assumption of Moses is a protest against the hope of a personal Messiah — a hope then prevalent and potent enough to call forth this extended and dignified protest — and a plea for reversion to the older theocratic idea. Again, " the Apocalypse of Baruch, in the sections written before A. D. 70, foreshadows the coming of the Messiah; but of the sections composed after the destruction of Jerusalem some cherish the hope of a Messianic kingdom without a Messiah, others look for a speedy consummation and judgment, and one fragment bears witness to the survival of the Sadducaic view of the present and the future." In at least three of the books written after A. D. 70 (Baruch, Sibylline Oracles, and the Apocalypse of Abraham), although there is the vision of a Messianic kingdom there is no reference to a personal Messiah. Evidently the destruction of Jerusalem dealt a severe blow to the political hopes of Judaism, but that they were not entirely destroyed is clear from 4 Ezra, where the person of the Messiah is brought into the foreground of the picture of the future." [Maldwyn Hughes, *Ethics of the Jewish Apocryphal Literature*, 309–12, 249. Alexandrian Theology, Hastings' E.R.E., I, 309.]

The Jews of the mother-country were face to face with the great crises which threatened their nation; those of Alexandria, the Jews of the Dispersion, viewed the course of events from a more dispassionate standpoint. If the latter saw them from a truer perspective, the former viewed them with a more vital interest and national concern. [Dewick, op.

cit., ch. X.] It was only in later centuries that Alexandria became "the most fatal scene of Jewish turbulence and Jewish calamity." [H. H. Milman, op. cit., III, 42ff. N. Schmidt, op. cit., 80–1, 76. Ch. on the Alexandrians, in J. H. Allen, op. cit.]

The history of Palestine from about 105 B.C. till 63 B. C. exhibits a struggle for power by the opposing sects of the Pharisees and the Maccabean house with alternating successes and failures. "When one party was in power it persecuted the other." The psalms of Solomon bear witness to the bitterness of this mutual hatred, a bitterness augmented by the theological in addition to the political differences. Thus the first century B. C. which introduced to Judaism and to the larger Gentile world John the Baptist and Christ himself was a time of intense activity, and of the impact of many conflicting forces, all of which played their part in shaping the Messianic hope. [M. Hughes, op. cit., 25–6, 66.]

It was the attempt to solve the problem, "why it is that Israel, which with all its perversity is more faithful to the law than other nations, is yet oppressed by them," that led the apocalyptists to cast their gaze into the future, and to foreshadow a Messianic kingdom in which Israel and the law should be vindicated and its enemies overthrown. The emergence of this Messianic Prince is pictured in Jubilees and the Testaments. [Eschatology, in Hastings' E.R.E. Apocalyptic Literature (by R. H. Charles) in Ency. Britt. II; in Ency. Bibl., I, 213–50; in Dict. of Christ and the Gospels, Apocrypha, in the last mentioned, I, 79–94. Eschatology (by R. H. Charles), Ency. Bibl., II, 1351–72, and in Dict. of the Apostolic Church, I, 334–65. Apocalypse, and Christ, Christology, Ib., I, 71–81; I, 177–99. Also, in Ib., art. Barnabas, Epistle of, 139–40; Baruch, Apocalypse of, 142–4; Esdras, The Second Book of, 365–6; Enoch, Book of, 334–40; Assumption of Moses, 107; Ascension of Isaiah, 100.] In view of this political tinge it is not surprising that Cyrus was regarded by the Israelites as Messiah, for he seemed to insure political salvation. [P.P.C. De La Saussaye, Lehrbuch der Religious geschichte I, 446. Tübingen, 1905.]

Resuscitation of the Messianic Idea in Roman Days

If this relationship between the harshness of the times and the intensity of the messianic hope is true of the days of the prophets, it is none the less true of a later Israel, of the Israel which meets us in the centuries preceding and following the birth of Christ. "Had the dream of Daniel been realized," it has been said, "and the dominion over the nations been given to the saints of the Maccabean period, the king of Israel would have been worshipped as a God, and Jerusalem rather than Rome would have become the seat of the imperial cult." [Nathaniel Schmidt, *The Prophet of Nazareth*, 71–2. 1905.]

That dream of Jewish national domination was, however, not to be realized. The revival of national strength was short-lived. As national prosperity waxed the messianic idea waned, and, when Israel fell upon evil days, the messianic idea, now in more favorable soil, took new root and bore fruit abundantly. This inverse relationship is well established. "Scarcely can it be supposed that the cry for a Messiah burst forth with loud accents while the Maccabean prince, Simon, ruled over the country. . . . The Jewish people were then content with the prevailing order of things. If it be true, as the author of the first book of Maccabees avers, that in those days 'every man was sitting under his vine, and under his fig-tree,' we cannot for one moment suppose that, under such realization of Messianic bliss, there should have existed an impulsive yearning toward another ruler, the imagined Messiah of the house of David. . . . The same may be said of the prosperous reign of his son, John Hyrcanus (B. C. 135–105). Under him almost a Davidic splendor, greatness and power prevailed. By the side of proud national self-consciousness the morbid sigh for an unknown and unknowable royal personage who should yet improve upon the present common happiness, can not well be imagined to have burst forth.

"The Messianic vision, it must be admitted by all, was originally born of gloom. It was always expressed, with more or less demonstrative force, under the somber aspects

of the times. Its ' reason of existence ' was either the weary night of oppression — or the dim twilight of a dubious destiny. In the serene radiance of the light of freedom and peace, or the lucid gleam of temporal bliss, the motive for its being is only hypothetical. If it nevertheless exists under such favorable conditions, it is due to a mere emotional attachment to the past and a pious repugnance to part from the wonted track cut by venerated ancestors and trodden all along in subsequent ages. That, therefore, the Jews were, under the prosperous reign of the high-priestly prince, John Hyrcanus, little troubled about the Messianic future, may be set down as a reasonable conclusion." [I. Schwab, A Review of the Messianic Idea from the Earliest Times to the Rise of Christianity. Published in *Judaism* at the World's Parliament of Religions. Cincinnati (R. Clarke), 1894.]

Seldom in the history of mankind has the need for a redeemer been so strongly felt as in the century before and the century after Christ, the apocalyptic frame of mind being so wide-spread that even a Seneca could not keep his thoughts from the early arrival of the end of the world. The messianic character of Augustus reflects the temper of mind of the emperor-worshipping Romans of this age. [Arthur Drews, *The Christ Myth*, 35. Art., Caesarism, in Hastings' E.R.E., III, 50–6.]

If security lulled the messianic hope into quiescence, danger and oppression revived it. For its stimulus Judaism has many peoples to thank, Assyrians, Egyptians, Romans, and, later, many a European people. The Apocalypse fitly represents the messianic movement as beginning at the time when Rome was extending her dominions over Judea. Its inception was amid " the beginnings of sorrow," and the forerunners of the Messiah's advent were disasters without precedent. " Revolution and Messianism," wrote Ernest Renan, " were indeed the ruin of the Jewish people considered as a nation," and, perhaps one should add, " the true vocation of that people, its one contribution to the structure of a world-wide civilization."

The first evidence of belief in a Messiah who was expected to deliver Israel has been attributed to the period following

the conquest of Palestine by Pompey, in 63 B. C. [N. Schmidt, op. cit., 68.] In view of the prevalent Messianic expectation, it can not be considered pure accident that Dosithée proclaimed his messiahship among the Samaritans at almost the same time that Christ proclaimed his messiahship among the Jews. [Krauss, Dosithée et les Dosithéens. Rev. d. *Etudes Juives*, Vol. 42 (1901), 27–42; A. Buchler, Les Dosithéens dans le Midrash, Ib., Vol. 43 (1901), 50–71; Vol. 42, p. 220–31. Dositheans, in Cath. Ency., and in the New Inter. Ency. (1915), VII, 195.] According to Origen, Dosithée was long believed by some of his followers to be still alive on this earth.

The galling oppression of the stranger, and the bitter sense of helplessness under the crushing power of the Roman legions, bred in the Jews a wild despair which made them look forward more eagerly than ever to the appearance of some one with extraordinary powers, who, as the Messiah, would, in accordance with ancient oracles, free them, and, with them, the world, from the prevailing material and moral bondage. [P. Goodman, *A History of the Jews*, 28. London, 1909.]

While the people were miserable, impatient, and longing for a leader, "if such a hero had arisen, and had dealt with the Romans as Judas Maccabeus had dealt with the Syrians, he would assuredly have been hailed by the Jews as the Messiah, the anointed of the Lord. The restlessness and rioting, which had their center in Jerusalem, prevailed throughout Palestine, and nowhere more strongly than in Galilee, the northern provinces in which Jesus, the son of Joseph a carpenter, first attracted attention. When Jesus was a tiny child a certain Judas of Galilee, a very ordinary hero indeed, only just escaped the perilous distinction of being altogether believed in by his countrymen. Judas the Galilean had headed a frantic outburst of passionate patriotism. It had been locally successful. Led by him, the Galileans had revolted and the Romans had retreated, and, like his great namesake, this Judas conquered for a while. But it was for a very little while; and his followers had not time to turn this leader of theirs into Messiah before he was crucified

by the Romans as a rebel. The enthusiastic reception which was given to this poor straw of a hero shows the tendency of the time and the temper of the people. The very stones seemed crying out for a Redeemer and Deliverer to come unto Zion. Under the circumstances a Messiah was almost bound to appear." [Lady Magnus, *Outlines of Jewish History*, 49, 226. Philadelphia, 1890. Hope for a political Messiah who will save from Roman domination is recognised by G. P. Fisher, *History of the Christian Church*, 16.]

It is easy to forget but important to remember that in the days of Jesus the word " Messiah " would inevitably suggest a powerful king, a warrior, a sudden and successful revolution. The Son of Man as pictured in Enoch 37–70 will execute judgment on men and angels alike. In fact, it was only after the year A. D. 135, in Talmudic times, that Judaism accepted belief in a Messiah who would die — a belief that may be related directly to the death of the national Messiah-hero, Bar-Kokebas. [Messiah, in Hastings' E.R.E., VIII, 580. Jesus Christ, Ib., VII, 514, 517. Eschatology, Ib., V, 379–80, 381.]

Jesus of Nazareth was not accepted by the more patriotic Jews as their Messiah for he failed to respond to national political hopes. Only in the Greek language does the name " Christ " signify the " Anointed One," i. e., the " Messiah." It is true Josephus does not attribute a political philosophy to the Zealots, the sect led by Judas against the Romans, and says nothing of the messianic hope that dominated them; but his silence may well be out of regard for Roman feeling. [An interpretation given by Norman Bentwick, *Josephus*, 117. Philadelphia, 1914.]

The belief in the coming of a triumphant Messiah was so widely diffused as to be mentioned by both Suetonius and Tacitus, [Cf. H. H. Milman, *History of the Jews*, II, 210–11.] so that Josephus must certainly have been cognisant of it. Only by virtue of this prevailing idea can we explain that state of expectancy which seldom failed to welcome any would-be Messiah. Thus it was that Theudas (beheaded 46 A. D.) could persuade the people to follow him to the river Jordan, expecting to see its waters miraculously divide as

the Red Sea divided for Moses. An Egyptian impostor (about 58 A. D.) could induce them to go out to the Mount of Olives expecting to see the walls of Jerusalem fall prostrate at his command. Even when the Roman soldiers were making preparations to set fire to the temple, a Messiah was able to assemble 6,000 men, women and children, into its courts and porches to await a promised miraculous deliverance. [See Josephus, Ant., XX, and Wars, VI; Edersheim, *Sketches of Jewish Social Life in the Days of Christ*, 65–7. London, 1896.]

Many of these, like Menahem, son of Judah, the Galilean, who appeared during the siege of Jerusalem, clothed in royal garments, and led the attack upon the Roman garrison, finally fell victims to their messianic pride or arbitrariness. All of them were inspired with a fervor as patriotic as it was religious.

Under the prosperous rule of the Maccabees, the old prophetic hope of a Messiah-king of David's line either lay dormant, or else became transformed into the expectation of a great Maccabean Priest-King of the House of Levi. When the Pharisees found themselves oppressed by the existing King of the Jews, the Messianic hope revived. It is clear, also, that at the time of Christ we need not expect to find one stereotyped form of Messianic hope. It was, indeed, a pious belief of certain individuals, not a recognised article of the Pharisaic creed, and, where the belief was held, its expression varied considerably. [Dewick, *Primitive Christian Eschatology*, ch. IX, and Emil Schürer, op. cit.]

The expectation of a Messiah was no part of the doctrine of the Hillelites, though it was exuberant among the Graeco-Roman Jews, and, among them, was raised to a high pitch by the edict against the Hebrews promulgated by Tiberius and Sejan. [I. M. Wise, *History of the Hebrews' Second Commonwealth*, 265. Cincinnati, 1880.] The success of Jesus' Messiahship varied according to the needs of the respective classes to whom it appealed. [Ib., 260.] Nor is this relativism peculiar to any age. The Pharisees cherished the Messianic hope, but with them it was interwoven with the hope of national and political redemption which, with them,

was inseparable from it. This was also essentially the doctrine of the Zealots, whose passionate zeal sought to hasten the day of national retribution upon Israel's enemies. [Riggs, *History of the Jewish People*, 108, 249. New York, 1902.]

Though the messianic hope was rampant in Palestine, in the books of the Cabbala, which were given shape among the Egyptian Jews, the names "Son of Man" and "Anointed Prince," the terms used when referring to the Messiah, do not occur. [C. R. Conder, *Judas Maccabaeus and the Jewish War of Independence*, 68 (1879).] These Alexandrian Jews were apart from the political depression and turmoil, and messianic doctrines were correspondingly absent. [A detailed account of the conditions and doctrines of the Alexandrian Jews of this and proximate periods will be found in August Bludan, *Juden und Judenverfolgungen im alten Alexandria*, esp. 13–28. Munster i. W. 1906. Also, N. Schmidt, *Prophet of Nazareth.*] Messianic hope is expressed in the Book of Enoch and in that of Solomon (Palestinian), whereas there is no reference to it in the Sibylline Oracles (Alexandrian). [Ewald, *History of Israel*, V, 361, 346, 484.]

Most of the Messianic prophecies are, as Professor Kent has remarked, [op. cit., 84ff., 175.] determined by the conditions and especially by the age in which the prophet lived, and their success has been closely related to the nature of the appeal. Before the appearance of John the Baptist and of Jesus of Nazareth the outrages perpetrated by Pilate had given rise to several prophets and saviors. One of these, a Samaritan, called his fellow-patriots to Mount Gerizzim, promising, in proof of his divine mission, to show them the sacred vessels and the ark made by Moses, these objects, according to Samaritan tradition, being buried on that Mount. Many of his followers came under arms; but the ever-wary Roman knew the political danger involved in religious fervour and promptly quelled the uprising. [I. M. Wise, op. cit., 244, 253.] Syria, which had been one of the most oppressed of the Roman provinces was most fruitful in messianic religious movements, while Alexandria, a refuge from

political oppression, furnished none — not even an appealing messianic idea.

In Palestine itself there was, prior to the appearance of Christ, not one prevailing idea of the desired and expected Messiah, but at least two distinct ones: there were two classes, each with its own peculiar needs and hopes, and these were not always reconcilable not to say coincident. If Mr. Louis Wallis' interpretation is correct, [*Sociological Study of the Old Testament*] the messianic idea found its source in the desire of the upper classes of Israel to have foreigners work for them, while they, the successful peoples, ate the wealth of the nations and succeeded to the world's glory. "But the lower classes were infected with social revolution, and wanted to set *mishpat*, or justice in the land." The final catastrophe of Judaism, its last attempt to get rid of the Roman yoke, is directly traceable to a messianic uprising of the lower class. Although later in its history Christianity was first adopted by the higher classes and by them imposed upon the peasantry (as in France, England, Germany, and most European countries), in the first centuries of its life it was distinctively and almost exclusively the religion of the lower classes, of the poor and oppressed. To them it promised salvation from the oppressor, regeneration and superiority that made the poor rich, the afflicted happy despite their misery. Such a religion was not for the higher classes because the oppression felt by them was the result of conditions external to the nation, not incidental to the social life, as was the case with the poorer classes. [Prideaux, op. cit., II, 404–5, 425. 1849. Riggs, op. cit., 152–3, 211, 228. The Old Testament is, for the most part written from the aristocratic point of view, that of the ruling and wealthy classes, and voices their aspirations. For example from its account we might supose that all of the Jews were carried away by Assyria during the captivity, whereas only the leaders and members of the upper classes were taken. The New Testament, on the other hand, reflects the views of the poorer classes who had little to do with the affairs of the nation.] Thus the success of Christianity, like the progress of the Jewish religion, is in large part a reflex of political conditions.

Some Jewish Messiahs After the Time of Christ

The hope for the advent of the Messiah lay dormant in the people awaiting for its fulfillment the time of pressing need; this hope reached its fulfilment, or at least its highest tension, in the troublous times immediately preceding the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus. "From the simple idea of a warrior, a protector of the people against foreign foes, the Messiah idea developed into the expectation of the rise of a great and glorious king of the house of David." [J. A. Greenstone, *The Messiah Idea in Jewish History*, 42–3, 54, 84, 111–112.] "The darker the present grew . . . the more eagerly did their minds turn to the comfort offered by the apocalyptic promises, which predicted the end of their sufferings and the dawn of their delivery." [Buttenweiser, in Jewish Encyclopedia.] Indeed, subsequently to B. C. 63, the Jews at Rome had taught the coming of a King, or Messiah, who would have been for the rest of Europe a King from the East:

> "And 'the People' of the Great God shall again shine,
> Loaded with wealth, with gold and silver,
> And fine purple."

As already suggested there can be little doubt that a Messianic excitement "accompanied as usual by anti-Roman feeling," was largely responsible for the Jewish revolt suppressed by Titus. At this time as well as through the following fifteen centuries or longer [see below the account of Molcho], Rome's downfall was to be the sign of the Messiah's approach; or the return of Nero, "the Beast," would herald it. "A dog chased the lion which throttled the Shepherds" of Israel; the chasing dog was a powerful Messiah. The two epistles of Paul which bear, of all his writings, the strongest evidence of an intense Messianic expectation were written at a time when the notion was prevalent in the Jewish aristocracy, that an emperor at Rome would rival God; while in the second epistle of Paul reflecting this belief, we have a reference to this heathen emperor as one who is to precede the Messiah's coming. [See I Thess. 4 and 5; II

Thess. 2. Paul, Dict. of Chr. and Gospels, II, 890. Christ, Christology, Dict. Apost. Ch., I, 188–91.] This view was essentially at one with that belief in the Anti-Christ which prevailed through the Middle Ages as an inheritance from New Testament times: An Anti-Christ who would be liberal in bribes, of unbounded wealth, capable of performing great signs and wonders so as to deceive the very elect, and at last tear the moral veil from his face revealing himself a monster of impiety and cruelty. He would inaugurate that awful persecution which would last three years and a half, excelling all previous persecutions in horror. "When the Son of Man cometh, shall he find faith on the earth?" asks Christ as though expecting the answer, "No." The vessel of the Church, says Marchantius, a seventeenth century theologian of Flanders, will disappear in the foam of that boiling deep of infidelity and be hidden in the blackness of that storm of destruction which sweeps over the earth. The sun shall be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light, and the stars shall fall from heaven. After the lapse of those three and a half years Christ will descend to earth, destroy Anti-Christ and his world power, thus avenging the blood of the saints. [For the beliefs about the Anti-Christ, see S. Baring-Gould, *Curious Myths of the Middle Ages*. Boston, 1889.]

Earthquakes and widespread famine, it seems, brought the Messianic excitement in Rome to a culmination in A. D. 52. Claudius expelled from Rome the Jews who, to quote Suetonius, "under the impulse of Christianity were keeping up a constant disturbance." As Huidekofer observes, the heathen could have had no motive for exculpating Jews at the expense of Christians. "Hence the allegation that Christianity was to blame for the disturbance must have originated with conservative Jews." The fearful earthquakes which shook Southern Italy again in A. D. 63, through the universal apprehension which they aroused, stimulated Messianic expectations among Jews and Christians. To supplement this, in June, 64, the city of Rome was nearly destroyed by a fire, only four of the fourteen sections of the city remaining untouched, the other ten being wholly or in

part destroyed. "Here was an event — Rome's destruction — which for more than a century had by many Jews been deemed the precursor of their Messiah's coming. Party strife and Sibylline predictions found place in the capital, whilst in Judea the autumn cannot have passed without premonitions of rebellion. From Josephus we know that revolutionary disturbances were, shortly thereafter, well under way in Judea. [See Huidekofer, *Judaism at Rome*, N. Y., 1887, 242ff; 229–38; 133, 144–7, 154, 425, 501; and the same author's *Indirect Testimony of History*, 33–5. For the use by Cicero of the phrase, "A King from the East," see the orator's work on *Divinations* and his *De Natura Deorum*. Virgil's Messianic Eclogue, edited by Mayor, Fowler and Conway, London, 1907, contains a discussion of the question of the messianic concept in Virgil. On the relation between the Dragon and the Messiah, see Hastings' Dictionary of the Apostolic Church, I, 313, art. on Dragon. The religious stimulus of such events has been discussed by the author in the article on Prodigies and Portents in Hastings' Ency. of Religion and Ethics, Vol. X.]

"Amongst the magicians and the false prophets who, to the disturbance of the people, began, in rivalry, with the robbers, to play a more dangerous part, and whom Felix endeavored rigorously to put down, there was an Egyptian Judean who especially distinguished himself (shortly after A. D. 52). He sought to prove, by a perverse interpretation of the Bible, that the walls of Jerusalem, having been subject to the heathen, must fall down in the same way as those of Jericho, under Joshua, had once done, and that only when that had been accomplished would the victory over the world accrue to those who should in that way enter the city. He had already collected many people from the populace on the Mount of Olives, in his advance from the eastern desert, when Felix fell upon him with a large body of horse and cavalry, killing four hundred and taking two hundred prisoners." [J. H. Allen, op. cit., 413. Ewald, *History of Israel*, VII, 423.]

About a decade later, the Roman governor, Festus, was compelled to send cavalry and infantry against a similar

false Messiah, who had promised the people immediate deliverance from the oppressive Romans, and a cessation of all sufferings, if they would follow him into the desert. [Ib., 426. The account is given in Josephus, Ant., XX, 8, 10.]

It was in the days of intense excitement and concern, when Cleopatra was scheming to effect the overthrow of Herod, that a Judean author foretold the coming destruction of the Roman-Greek state and heralded the coming of a glorious Messiah. [Graetz, *Hist of Jews*, II, 95. See also 143ff., 240ff., 290ff., 409ff., 610; IV, 18, 494ff.; in II, 610ff.; of Messiahs in the early sixteenth century, in IV, 482ff.; of Charles V (sixteenth century) in IV, 497.] In a word, "To trace the rise of the Jewish revolt is hardly anything less than to trace the growth of the messianic propaganda." [See Shaler Matthews, *Messianic Hope in the New Testament*, 15; cf., also, C. A. Briggs, *The Messiah of the Apostles*, New York, 1895; and by the same author, *The Messiah of the Gospels.*]

The periods of greatest oppression and consequent depression, from 180 B. C. to 100 A. D., "far from being ages of spiritual stagnation and darkness, . . . might with justice be described as the two most fruitful centuries in religion, life and thought in the history of Israel." [R. H. Charles, *Religious Development between the Old and New Testament*, 115. See also his *Apocrypha.*]

The messianic conception which Josephus witnessed at work was eminently national and anti-Roman. In the Asmonian period (cir. 130 B. C.), in conformity with Jewish prophecy, the Messiah was to establish a glorious territorial kingdom. The apocalyptic messiah of this age was to originate a heaven, descend to earth, establish future judgment, and, as was held after the capture of Jerusalem, avenge the Jews upon their enemies. The motive for national vengeance died hard. In A. D. 132, a Messiah by name of Bar Kokebas came forward and raised a revolt against the Romans which lasted three years and a half, finally resulting, to the great injury of the Jewish cause, in the Hebrew temple being replaced by one dedicated to Jupiter. [Lagrange, *Le Messianism* (Paris, 1909), esp. pp. 6, 132, 309. Also

J. A. Greenstone, op. cit., 89. See Virgil's *Messianic Eclogue*, edited by J. B. Mayor, W. W. Fowler, and R. S. Conway (London, 1907). Josephus, Hastings' E.R.E., VII, 776, sec. 3–4.] This illustrates the pragmatic value of messianic ideals and is probably what Briggs had in mind when he referred to the Old Testament Messianic prophecies as an " organism of redemption," an ideal to guide the Jewish people in " their advance toward the goal of history." [C. A. Briggs, *Messianic Prophecy*. New York, 1891. An older and less valuable treatise will be found in the book of James Drummond, *The Jewish Messiah: A Critical History of the Messianic Idea among the Jews from the Rise of the Maccabees to the Closing of the Talmud*. London, 1877. See also Shailer Mathews, *Messianic Hope in the New Testament* (Univ. of Chicago Press).]

In less than a year Bar Kokebas had conquered fifty fortified cities and nine hundred and forty-five towns and villages. He led an army of two hundred thousand men. For two and a half years he reigned as king. Only after fifty-two battles did Julius Severus, in 135 A. D., finally vanquish him. There is something sublime in this King of Zion bidding defiance to the armies of proud imperial Rome. [N. Schmidt, op. cit., 88–91; Rev. d. *Etudes Juives*, I (1880), 42.]

This Bar-Kokebas, Son of a Star, whose name was later turned by his disappointed followers into Bar-Cosba, Son of a Lie, though not the first, nor yet the last, of a long line of Messiahs, is one of the most dramatic figures. It was an opinion deeply rooted in the breasts of all faithful Israelites, that in the darkest hour of the race of Abraham, when his children were at the extreme point of degradation and wretchedness, even then the arm of the Lord would be revealed, and the expected Messiah would make his sudden and glorious appearance. In the year 132 A. D., after the death of Trajan and the ascension of Hadrian, that hour seemed to have arrived. Not only was their holy Jerusalem a mass of ruins and inhabited by the stranger, but the pagans were about to take up permanent residence in Sion, and place a Roman idol on the very site of the Holy of Holies. At that moment the Messiah appeared in the person of Bar-Kokebas;

the greatest of the Rabbis openly avowed the justice of his claims; many miraculous feats were attributed to him, and thousands of Jews flocked to his banner. [H. H. Milman, *Hist. of the Jews*, II, 432–8. Emil Schürer, *Hist. of the Jewish People in the Time of Christ. First Division*, II. 297ff. New York. No date. S. Hecht, *Epitome of Post-Biblical History*, 33–5 (1882). R. A. S. Macalister, *Hist. of Civilization in Palestine*, 101. Merivale, *Hist. of the Romans*, VII, 316–7. New York, 1896. J. H. Allen, op. cit., 423. Gibbon's *Roman Empire*, I, 589.]

Schindler has referred to Bar Kokebas as the only man who has earned the title of Messiah, if it has been earned by any one, embodying all the qualities expected of the Messiah. "He was of powerful, herculean build; tall, muscular, strong. He was the model of a soldier. He would sleep on the bare ground, and share the coarse food of his soldiers. In battle he would be seen at the most dangerous points, whirling his battle-axe with undaunted courage. He was a skilful leader, who outgeneralled the most experienced soldiers of Rome. Deep as was his hatred of Rome was his love for his country. He was modest and willing to listen; and for all this his followers worshipped him. How he had passed his youth, where he had obtained his military knowledge, nobody knew. There he was at the time when all was prepared, and people were only waiting for the leader; and the impression which he must have made upon the people was such that, without examining his past record, all, the rich and the poor, the learned and the simple, flocked to his banner, and obeyed implicitly his commands. Within the space of a year he stormed fifty fortified places, and freed nine hundred and eighty-five towns held by the Romans; and when the year 133 dawned, not a single Roman was to be seen in Palestine." [*Messianic Expectations*, 69–73. Mommsen, *Provinces of the Roman Empire*, II, 244. New York, 1887.]

Later belief that the messianic period would be preceded by many misfortunes and perplexities for Israel [Greenstone, 111–12] may well have been an inference based on the conditions that had, as a matter of fact, prevailed prior to its manifestations. A few examples will illustrate this:

In the fifth century, an enthusiast, one Moses, arose in the island of Crete, declaring himself the Messiah and attracting all the Jewish congregations on the island. "Business was neglected, all the common pursuits of life were forsaken, in the anxious expectation of the time when the new Moses should lead them dryshod through the sea into the Promised Land. So convinced were the people of his mission and of his powers, that they delivered all their belongings to him, and men, women, and children followed him to the sea. Standing on a promontory projecting into the sea, he ordered them to throw themselves into the ocean, as the waters would surely part for them. . . . Many were drowned, some were rescued by sailors." "Thus the Jews, whom the magnanimous offer of a Roman emperor left incredulous, were deluded by the fancies of an enthusiast, or by the snares of an impostor, merely because he promised them miracles." [Greenstone, op. cit., 109–11; G. F. Abbott, *Israel in Europe*, 48–9; H. H. Milman, III, 40, 96ff., 366.] His success is no doubt partly due to the fact that in the beginning of the fifth century hopes of a millennium were spreading and the long-awaited deliverer was expected. This expectation was heightened by the prediction of an ancient Sibylline oracle placing the advent of the Messiah in the eighty-fifth jubilee, between A. D. 440 and 470. "In proportion as persecution became stronger, these hopes grew more vigorous." [Judaism, Hastings' E.R.E., VII, 598. The Chronicles of Jerahmeel, probably written in the first century B. C., contain similar speculations. There was a tradition among the Jews that before the destruction of Jerusalem in 586 B. C. the Tabernacle with all its sacred furniture was hidden by Jeremiah, or, according to the Talmud, by Josiah, in a cave in Mt. Nebo, whence it was to be miraculously restored to its place at the coming of the Messiah. 2 Es., X, 22; Ark, Dict. of Apost. Ch., I, 92. In this connection we may warn readers of Josephus to bear in mind that he tried to suppress the messianic expectations of the Jews, or at least to purge them of all political import. He tries generally to divest Jewish sects of all political significance, and anxiously avoids all reference to the stirring messianic expectations

then current among the Jews. See Josephus, Dict. of Apost. Ch., I, 651–2.]

Dunaan, who appeared in Nigra, a city of Arabia Felix, in 434, was a similar character in similar conditions. Similar, too, is the story of the Syrian reformer, Serene, who appeared about 720. The Jews of that period were suffering heavily at the hands of the fanatical Caliph Omar II. "When, therefore, the Messiah arose, promising to restore them to independence and to exterminate their enemies, many Eastern Jews lent an attentive ear to his gospel. The Redeemer's fame reached Spain, and the Jews of that country also, still smarting under the sufferings of centuries and probably disappointed in the extravagant hopes which they had built upon the Arab conquest, hastened to enlist under his banner." Serene, however, after being intercepted by the successes of Caliph Omar II, was delivered over to the Synagogue and, with his disgrace, disappeared that particular messianic dream.

Not long, however, was the dream absent. In less than a generation another reformer of messianic type appeared in the Persian town of Ispahan, rekindled the enthusiasm and revived the messianic faith. This reformer, who professed to be merely a forerunner, by name, Obaiah Abu Isa ben Ishak, promised to free the children of Israel from their thraldom. Nor did he exhort in vain. Ten thousand Jews rallied around his standard and the war for independence begun at Ispahan seemed for awhile to promise success. His memory was alive up until the tenth century but none succeeded him who was able to revive the movement toward liberation. [G. F. Abbott, *Israel in Europe*, 60–1; Silvestre de Sacy, *Chrestomathie Arabie*, I, 307. Paris, 1826.]

The Book of the Bee, written by the bishop Shelemon, or Solomon, a native of Armenia, in the thirteenth century, gives the messianic generations and shows the importance attached to them at that time. [See the translation by E. A. Wallis Budge, published in *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, Semitic Series, I, 1886.] So frequent were the messianic disturbances of the Middle Ages that it became necessary for the Jewish congregations to place all questions bearing upon

Messianic topics or movements before the Nagid of Egypt. [*Jewish Quart. Rev.*, IV, 505; X, 140.]

As early as the middle of the tenth century, Hasdai, the Jewish statesman of the Cordova Caliphate in Spain, wrote to the Jewish community settled near the mouth of the Volga river to find out "whether there is anywhere a soil and kingdom where scattered Israel is not subordinate and subject to others. Having been cast down from our former glory, and now living in exile, we are powerless to answer those who constantly say unto us: 'Every nation hath its kingdom, while you have no trace of a kingdom on earth.'" In reply the king of the Khazars writes, in part: "Our eyes are turned to God and to the wise men of Israel who preside over the academies of Jerusalem and Babylon. We are far away from Zion, but it has come to our ears that, on account of our sins, the calculations concerning the coming of the Messiah have become confused, so that we know nothing. May it please the Lord to act for the sake of his great Name. May the destruction of his temple, and the cutting off of the holy service, and the misfortunes that have befallen us, not appear small in His sight. May the words of the prophet be fulfilled: 'And the Lord, whom ye seek, shall suddenly come to his temple' (Mal. iii, 1). We have nothing in our possession concerning the coming of the Messiah except the prophecy of Daniel. May the God of Israel hasten our redemption and gather together all our exiled and scattered brethren in my lifetime, in thy lifetime, and in the lifetime of the whole house of Israel, who love his name." [Dubnow, I, 26–27. The author, however, points out that the authenticity of the document is not above suspicion. He thinks it may more probably reflect the mournful Messianic temper of the sixteenth century, when this correspondence was brought to light by Spanish exiles who had made their way to Constantinople, rather than the state of mind of a Spanish dignitary or a Khazar king of the tenth century. In that case it must be accounted part of the Sabbataian movement described below.]

A powerful messianic movement was initiated in 1096, in the midst of the Crusades, by the German Jews who had long

looked forward to this year as a year of deliverance. Many thousands of them started for the Holy Land by way of the Byzantine Empire. The belief was rife that the ten tribes, from behind their dark mountains, were astir, and wished to unite with their distant brethren in the West, from whom they had long been separated. These dark mountains were, the German Jews declared, before their eyes, brightened with a great brilliancy. So widespread was the movement that the Jews of France dispatched a special messenger to Constantinople to obtain reliable information about the success of the movement for deliverance, and to ascertain whether the time of freedom had, in very truth, arrived. It was reported also that from the Byzantine Empire seventeen congregations had started, undeterred by the necessity of wandering through the desert. [David Kaufmann, A Hitherto Unknown Messianic Movement, *Jewish Quart. Rev.*, 10 (1897–8), 139–51.]

A Messiah appeared in France about 1087, another at Cordova in 1117, one in Fez in 1127, all of these movements being traceable to the oppression felt by the Jews as a result of the Crusades.

In Yemen (Persia) in 1172, just when the Mohammedans were making most ardent efforts to convert the Jews, appeared a self-proclaimed forerunner of the Messiah, who declared that the misfortunes of the day betokened the approach of the Messianic kingdom.

Similar tendencies to rebound from under the severest calamities characterized this whole period when the Jews were suffering manifold ills from the direct and indirect effects of the first and second Crusades. The Jewish traveler, Benjamin of Tudela, who visited his co-religionists in the cities along the Rhine, twenty years after the second Crusade, found them cheerfully awaiting the Messiah. Here, as elsewhere, the wish seemed to yield its own fulfilment and the expectation when at a high pitch was seldom in vain.

Came to the fore at this time, about the middle of the twelfth century (1160) one David Alroy, who appeared in Asia Minor and there summoned the brethren to his banner. A wave of enthusiasm spread from Bagdad through both East and West, many giving up all they possessed in order to

respond to the call. The Synagogue, however, excommunicated the Messiah, and either his father-in-law, or the executioner of the Sultan himself, soon dispatched him. Here again, as in the case of Sabbatai and of Molcho [1] death did not extinguish the hopes and beliefs of many of the Jewish followers for his return was confidently expected. [G. F. Abbott, *Israel in Europe*, 89–90, 171; Rev. d. *Etudes Juives*, IV, 188–91; XVII, 304; A. Neubauer, *Mediaeval Jewish Chronicles*, 123. The followers of David Alroy formed a sect known as Menakemists (q.v. Jewish Ency., I, 454ff.).]

In 1279 or 1280 Abraham Abulafia published a book in which he claimed to be God's mouth-piece. Later, in 1284, in Messina, Sicily, he declared his Messiahship and announced that the Messianic era would begin in 1290. Persecuted in Sicily, he went to the island of Comino, near Malta, about 1288, and there pushed his claims; with what success is not known. One of the two prophets who arose from among his disciples, claiming to be prophets and miracle-workers, foretold in mystic language at Ayllon, in Segovia, the advent of the Messiah.

About this time flourished also in Avila, Nissim ben Abraham, who was inspired by an angel to write a mystic work, "The Wonder of Wisdom." He designated the last day of the fourth month of the year 1295, as the date of the Messiah's appearance. The credulous fasted and practised almsgiving and assembled on the appointed day; but only to find — by what strange chance may only be surmised — that to their garments were attached little crosses.

A Lombard enthusiast, Wilhelmina "of Bohemia," claimed to be an incarnation of the Spirit appointed to save the Jews, Saracens, and false Christians. The sect died out soon after her decease in 1282.

In the fourteenth century there appeared, in Persia, another Messiah, Moses Botarel of Cisneras.

Any menace to the Papacy was accepted by the Jews as a good augury and a presage of the coming of the Messiah. This was the case after Charles VIII had poured his forces,

[1] Reubeni, David, Jewish Ency. X, 388ff., and Molcho, Solomon, Ib., VII, 604. Judaism, Hastings' E.R.E., VII, 604.

like a torrent, over the Italian Peninsula, with consequent hard fates for the Jews of Spain and Portugal, who were of the belief that the French conquest marked the end of the Papacy. They decided upon the year 1490 as the year of deliverance, though it was not until 1502 or 1503 that a Messiah, in the person of Ascher Lembein, appeared. Hard days for the oppressors meant the approach of salvation for the oppressed. Ascher preached repentance and contrition, giving assurance that the Messiah would appear in six months. Many devoted disciples in Italy and Germany rallied to his support, but his sudden death brought the dream to an abrupt end, only to be revived thirty years later by the much-tried Marranos of Spain and Portugal.

In the troublous days of the beginning of the sixteenth century, " there arose in Istria, near Venice, a German Jew, whose name was Lembein, a foolish and mad prophet, an infatuated man, and the Jews ran after him. And they said, ' Surely he is a prophet, whom the Lord has sent as a prince over his people Israel; and he shall gather the dispersed of Judah from the four corners of the earth.' And some of the men were inclined to him and girded themselves with sackcloth; and every man turned from his evil ways in those days; for they said, ' Our salvation draweth nigh; but the Lord, in his own time, will make haste.' "

Tribulations similar to those which beset Lembein, and anticipations of a still worse fate for the entire Jewish community, were the fertile soil which produced three Messiahs in the latter part of the fourteenth century — Abraham of Granada, Shem-Tob, and Moses Botarel. [G. F. Abbott, *Israel in Europe*, 200–1, 150, 279. *The Chronicles of Rabbi Joseph Ben Joshua Ben Meir, the Sphardi*, I, 354. London, 1836. Translated by C. H. F. Bialloblotzky.]

Isaac Luria (1534–72) proclaimed himself as possessing the soul of the Messiah, and announced the date of the messianic age as 1568. After his death Hayim Vital Calabres claimed to be the Messiah and preached the speedy advent of the messianic era.

In 1574, Abraham Shalom, himself a pretender to the Messiahship, advised Vital to repair to Jerusalem for two years;

should he do so the holy spirit would come upon him. In 1615, there appeared in Coromandel another Messiah. Even the poet Moses Luzzate (1707–47) declared his messiahship, fancying himself destined by means of his production, the Second Zohar, to redeem Israel. He had a small band of followers but was several times excommunicated. [Lent, De Pseudo-Messiis. Art. on Messiah, in the Jewish Encyclopedia. Messiahs (Pseudo) in Hastings' Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics. Messiah, in the New International Encyclopedia.]

During the reign of the Spanish king, Charles V, there appeared in the court of the king of Portugal a man by the name of David, announcing that he had come from India on a mission from his brother, the King of the Jews, to propose an alliance directed toward the recovery of the Holy Land from the Turk. In Portugal, Spain, France, and Italy he traveled on his mission, winning many converts, and even securing an interview with the Pope. Some of the more worldly-wise detected the imposture and David fell upon hard days. In the naïve and quaint Chronicles of the Rabbi Joseph, we find a lengthy description:

"A Jew-man whose name was David, came from a distant country of India into the court of the king of Portugal in those days and said unto him: 'I am a Hebrew, and I fear the Lord, the God of Heaven, and my brother the king of the Jews sent me unto thee, O king, for help; and now, be a helper unto us and we will go to war against the Turk, Solyman, and will take the Holy Land from his hands.' And the king said unto him, 'Be thy coming with peace; and now go, I will send thee unto the high priest; and whatsoever he shall say, I will do.' And he went out from him, and abode on Lisbon several days. And the forced Christians [Literally, the compelled ones; Jews who had been driven by the Inquisition into outward compliance with ecclesiastical rites.] believed his words. And each said unto his neighbor, 'He is our deliverer, for God hath sent him; and they gathered themselves unto him and honoured him much. And the man departed thence, and passed through Spain; and in all the places through which he passed, many

flowed unto him of those who were scattered there; and he was unto them a stumbling block. And he passed over to France and went unto Avignon. And he departed thence, and came unto Italy; and he made banners of cunning work, and wrote upon them the names of the Holy; and many believed him in those days. And also unto Bologna, Ferrara, and Mantua, came that man; and he said that he would, with the consent of the kings of the uncircumcised, lead all the Jews who were found in the midst of them unto his place and into his land. And he spake also unto the pope; and the children of Israel feared much. And it came to pass, when they spake unto him, saying, 'And what shall we do with our wives this day, if we shall all go into the battle, and what unto their children which they have borne?' That he replied, 'Surely there are many women in our country, like unto these women: fear not, for there is no restraint with the Lord to save.' And he invented a writing of his own heart saying, 'My brother, the king, hath sent unto me written and sealed with the king's ring; and it came to pass, one day, that his secret was discovered, and they believed him no more; for he decreed decrees of nothingness." [Translated by Bialloblotzky, London, 1836, II, 149–50. See also, G. F. Abbott, *Israel in Europe,* 169–70.]

Succeeded David, one Solomon Molcho, at first a Christian and an ignorant man. Upon his circumcision the Lord invested him with profound knowledge, out of which he was enabled to master the Cabala and speak with inspiring eloquence. To kings he preached the Jewish faith, and with the Pope, Clement VII, he had audience and secured permission to dwell where he would.

"And there came forth a rod from Portugal, whose name was Solomon Molcho, of a stem of Israel, which had been scattered there since the days of destruction; and he was a lad with the scribes of the king at that time. And when he saw the man David, the Lord touched his heart, and he returned unto the Lord, the God of his ancestors; and he circumcised the skin of his foreskin. And he knew nothing of the law of the Lord, and of the Holy Scriptures in those days; and it came to pass, when he was circumcised, that

the Lord gave wisdom unto Solomon, and he became wiser than all the men in a very short time; and many wondered at him; and he went to Italy, and with a daring face he spake of the law of our God in the presence of kings, and hid not his face from them. And he went into Turkey and returned into Rome, and spake with Clement, who extended towards him kindness against the desire of all those who knew law and judgment. And he gave him a written privilege signed with his name to dwell as it should be pleasing in his sight, and he surnamed himself by the name of Israel; and he was wise in the wisdom of the Cabala; and he brought forth from his mouth words of grace, for the spirit of the Lord spake in him; and His word was constantly upon his tongue. And he continually drew also from the deep fountain of the Cabala goodly words; and he wrote them upon tables; but I have not yet seen them. And he preached to many at Bologna and in other places; and many ran after him to hear his wisdom, and to prove him with riddles. And Solomon told them all their words: there was nothing hid from him which he told them not; and when they saw the wisdom of Solomon, they said, 'It was a true report which we heard concerning thee, and thou hast gained wisdom exceeding the fame which we heard.' And many clothed themselves with envy against him; but they could cast no evil upon him in Italy, for he was beloved in the sight of the nobles: and he united himself with David, and they were as one in those days.

"And Solomon wrote unto the wise men, words of peace and truth, saying: —

"'Incline your ear to hear the words of a worm and no man, a rod out of the stem of the children of our captivity, which came forth from a land of our adversaries, sitting in a forest and in a desert, in a place of thorns, thistles and briers; there he fed, and there he lay down; for his father and his mother forsook him; he walked in darkness and had no light, meditating in the night upon his couch by what way the light is parted, that he might know the place of the dawn, to keep himself from the ways of the violent, that he might walk in the paths of God to seek wisdom of him, and to hear the words of truth. And He put in his heart anxiety and

trouble at all times, to save his soul from destruction, to shine in the light of life, that he might hold fast unto the right hand of God, and cast from him the left.' "

In an ecstatic vision he was shown an earthquake and a deluge that were to come: "The deluge will be in this country and in another country, on the north side, on the uttermost part of the earth; and the earthquake in the land of thy kindred. . . . And in those days the earthquake will be in the kingdom of Portugal; and when the deluge shall be at Rome, it shall also be in the north. And the lightnings which came down from heaven, which separated you from the birds, shew, that after the flood, two great stars shall be seen, one upon the citadel on which were the fowls; and the second upon the great place which is situated high on the clefts of the rock. And each star shall have a great tail of purple color and they shall be in the sight of the inhabitants of Rome for many days, and they shall all prophesy concerning them. And the star which shall be seen over the place will show, that there shall abide a great weeping over the place, and over all the cities, which are on the west of Turkey, for they shall be in the inheritance of their enemies. And the second star showeth that this shall not be forever; but that Israel shall do valiantly, that singing may be in the morning. . . . And on the self-same day shall rest upon the king Messiah a holy spirit, a spirit of wisdom and understanding, to make him rule over a great people, and to be at eventide a light to shine through the night. After this shall awake from the dust the dead of the world and he will renew them by a perfect resurrection. No Satan and no evil spirit shall then be, and the Lord will give rest to his people!' And it came to pass that when the old man left off speaking according to these words, that Solomon awoke and stretched out his hands toward heaven, and said, 'Lord God of Israel, I acknowledge before Thee that Thou hast dealt kindly with me this day, for the sake of thy great mercies, and not according to my righteousness and for the sake of thy loving-kindness, and not for my innocency; for what am I, that I should be taught a high matter over which there is a watcher; if it was not by thy good and great hand,

to show the good unto criminals which thou hast shown me this day, not according to the work of my hand but according to thy righteousness, O living God, that I have seen what I have seen, and my soul is preserved; blessed be the Lord who sheweth goodness unto debtors!' . . .

"And after I was healed, I went to Rome, to observe the stars and their appearance; and before they came, I told it all unto the pope, and to some of the cardinals belonging to the great of the court, written in a letter. And I also wrote unto the king of Portugal by the hand of his ambassador, for I spake to him in his chamber. And when the earthquake came, they marvelled much. And the ambassadors said unto me, 'If the king had known before thou removedst from Portugal, that thou art so very wise, he had given thee permission to act by every law thou wouldst.' And daily he and his servants honored me much at his house and before the pope." [*Chronicles of Rabbi Joseph*, II.]

The wonderful vision of Molcho, this would-be Jewish Messiah who lived in the first half of the sixteenth century, to the effect that Portugal would be visited by an earthquake and that Rome and a northern country would be swept by a destructive flood, after which there would appear in Rome, for a few days, two comets with golden tails, had its major fulfilment. Rome was inundated in October, 1530, as also was Flanders; a brilliant comet appeared; the earthquake shook Lisbon in January, 1536, with terrible effect. As a result of this fulfilment of prophecies, when Molcho again appeared in Rome, he was greeted with marks of highest confidence and reverence, and was regarded by all as the messenger of God. The Inquisition, however, was not so favorably inclined and soon dispatched him. [Greenstone, *Messiah Idea*, 197ff., 118–122. Lagrange, *Le Messianisme*, 329ff. S. Schechter, *Studies in Judaism*, 224–5. Morris Joseph, *Judaism as Creed and Life*, 169. H. H. Milman, *Hist. of the Jews*, III, 367–8. G. F. Abbott, op. cit., 170–1.]

The spirit of martyrs is not consumed in the flames of their martyrdom. The burning of Molcho [1] was but as a

[1] Schindler, *Messianic Expectations*, Chapter VII, describes David Rubeni and Solomon Molcho.

burnt offering unto the Lord. "And the Lord smelled the sweet savour, and took to him his spotless soul, and she is with him as one brought up with him, rejoicing always before him. . . . And many in Italy believed, at that time, that Rabbi Solomon Molcho had been delivered by his wisdom from the hand of those who sought after his soul to destroy it, and that the fire had no power over him. And there were some witnessed, and sware before the assembly and congregation, that he stood in his house eight days after the burning, and that he went his way thence and they saw him no more; the Almighty God alone knoweth. And would to God," writes Rabbi Joseph Ben Joshua Ben Meir, the Sphardi, "would to God I could write in a book with certainty and sincerity whether his words were true or not." [Said the author's nephew with regard to these Chronicles, written shortly after the events which they describe, "Whosoever desireth to find delight in the times past, let him take up this Book of Memorials. . . . Peradventure he will be favored to discern between the greatness of heathen kings and that of our Messiah." II, 525.]

Canon Moreau, quoted by Baring-Gould, gives the following account of a messianic movement in the closing days of the sixteenth century and the early part of the seventeenth: "'In the year 1599 a rumor circulated with prodigious rapidity through Europe, that Antichrist had been born in Babylon, and that already the Jews of that part were hurrying to receive him as their Messiah. The news came from Italy and Germany, and extended to Spain, England, and other Western kingdoms, troubling many people, even the most discreet; however, the learned gave it no credence, saying that the signs predicted in Scripture to precede that event were not yet accomplished, and, among others, that the Roman empire was not yet abolished. Others said that, as for the signs, the majority had already appeared to the best of their knowledge, and with regard to the rest, they might have taken place in distant regions without their having been made known to them; that the Roman empire existed but in name, and that the interpretation of the passage on which its destruction was predicted, might be incorrect; that

for many centuries, the most learned and pious had believed in the near approach of Antichrist, some believing that he had already come, on account of the persecutions which had fallen on the Christians; others, on account of fires, or eclipses, or earthquakes. Every one was in excitement; some declared that the news must be correct, others believed nothing about it, and the agitation became so excessive, that Henry IV, who was then on the throne, was compelled by edict to forbid any mention of the subject.'

"The report spoken of by Moreau gained additional confirmation from the announcement made by an exorcised demoniac, that in 1600, the Man of Sin had been born in the neighborhood of Paris, of a Jewess, named Blanchefleure, who had conceived by Satan. The child had been baptised at the Sabbath of Sorcerers; and a witch, under torture, acknowledged that she had rocked the infant Antichrist on her knees, and she averred that he had claws on his feet, wore no shoes, and spoke all languages.

"In 1623 appeared the following startling announcement, which obtained an immense circulation among the lower orders: 'We, brothers of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, in the Isle of Malta, have received letters from our spies, who are engaged in our service in the country of Babylon, now possessed by the Grand Turk; by the which letters we are advertised, that, on the 1st of May, in the year of our Lord 1623, a child was born in the town of Borrydot, otherwise called Calka, near Babylon, of the which child the mother is a very aged woman, of race unknown, called Fort-Juda: of the father nothing is known. The child is dusky, has pleasant mouth and eyes, teeth pointed like those of a cat, ears large, stature by no means exceeding that of other children; the said child, incontinent on his birth, walked and talked perfectly well. His speech is comprehended by every one, admonishing the people that he is the true Messiah, and the son of God, and that in him all must believe. Our spies also swear and protest that they have seen the said child with their own eyes; and they add, that, on the occasion of his nativity, there appeared marvellous signs in heaven, for at full noon the sun lost its brightness, and was for some

time obscured.' This is followed by a list of other signs appearing, the most remarkable being a swarm of flying serpents, and a shower of precious stones." [*Curious Myths of the Middle Ages*, 168–71. The author refers to Moreau, his authority for the above account, as a "contemporary historian." I have not been able to consult the work of Moreau.]

In 1640, when the Jews all over Europe were eagerly looking for redemption, the belief was entertained that all the Jews should rise again and be led to Jerusalem by the Messiah. When this Messiah had come, "all the ships, barkes, and vessels of Holland should, by the powere of certain strange whirle-winds be loosed from their ankers and transported in a moment to all the desolate ports and havens throughout the world wherever the dispersion was, to convey their brethren and tribes to the Holy Citty." [G. F. Abbott, *Israel in Europe*, 251, 278, 298, 494.] Truly this was an age of Messianic dreams, and of such dreams as inspire attempt at fulfilment.

The English Jews went so far as to attempt to prove Cromwell their Messiah. In the reign of Edward I (in 1290) fifteen thousand Jews, supposed to represent all of those in England, were banished. Since that time England's shores had been inhospitable. Now, under the Protectorate, they were allowed to return and to remain unmolested. [Frederick Harrison, *Oliver Cromwell*. London, 1890.] It is not surprising, then, in view of their long cherished hope for a future deliverer, that Cromwell's leniency towards Jews should induce some of them to apply to him the epithet of Messiah.

Belief in his Messiahship may, in fact, have induced some of the Jews to immigrate. "About this time, Rabbi Manasseh Ben Israel came to England to solicit the Jews' readmission; and about the same time a deputation of Asiatic Jews arrived also, with the noted Rabbi Jacob Ben Azabel at their head, to make inquiry, whether Cromwell was not that Messiah they had so long expected. These deputies upon their arrival, pretending other business, were several times indulged with the favor of a private audience with him; and

at one of them proposed buying all the Hebrew books and Mss. belonging to the University of Cambridge. But this the Protector refused, rejecting the proposal with scorn. However, they had the liberty of viewing them; after which they took an opportunity to enquire, among his relations in Huntingdonshire, where he was born, whether any of his ancestors in the male line could not be proved of Jewish extraction." [Raguenet, *Hist. d'Oliver Cromwell*, 290. Haye, 1727. *Gentleman's Magazine*, Jan., 1810, Vol. 80, p. 12.]

[They did not find the desired ancestry. Instead, " their enquiries into Oliver's pedigree not being carried on with all the secrecy such a scheme required, the true purpose of their errand into England became quickly known at London, and was very much talked of; which causing much scandal among the Saints, they were suddenly packed out of the kingdom, without obtaining any of their requests, to the great joy of the Country, as well as the University of Cambridge, which being at that time under a cloud, on account of their former loyalty to the King, had everything to fear from such visitors."]

In the sixteenth century, in the days of Joseph de la Reina, a citizen of Safed, Upper Galilee, as in the early days of Roman domination, the destruction of the Evil One was a preliminary condition to the advent of the Messiah. [S. Schechter, *Studies in Judasim*, 248.]

The " Sohar," composed by Rabbi Mose ben Shem Tob de Leon, born 1250, prophesied the appearance of the Messiah in the beginning of the fourteenth century. In this account he ceased to be the anointed king who was to restore the political status of Israel, and was pictured as a mythical being, the incarnation of the En Sof, or Spirit of the Lord, " the exact image of the Messiah taught by the Christians." [Schindler, 126–8.]

When, in the seventeenth century the Christians, both Catholic and Protestant, began with almost unanimity to predict the end of the world and the reappearance of Christ, the Jews remembered the Sohar. They declared the prediction for the appearance of the Messiah in the beginning

of the thirteenth century a mistake, alleging that the proper time for his appearance was about the same as that predicted by their Christian neighbors, namely, the year 1648. In that year their Messiah was to come, riding upon a lion, reconquer Palestine in a miraculous manner and without arms, and establish the Kingdom of Heaven upon earth. "By that time, the Kabbalists said, the last lot of souls would have arrived on the sublunary world, and with it the soul of the Messiah; and everything would then be in readiness for the absorption by the En Sof."

There can be no doubt that the times amply favored the revival of these forgotten hopes: the Thirty Years War then raging in Germany; the rise of Protestantism; the inroads which the Turks were making upon Siebenbürgen; the discoveries which were so disturbing to the intelligent as well as to the unintelligent — all these were fostering circumstances and foisted the messianic aspiration.

In the seventeenth century, there arose (in 1666) a messianic movement which affected profoundly or slightly almost the entire Jewish world, raising it to the highest pitch of excitement by the news that at Smyrna the long awaited Messiah was to be found. This pretender was none other than Sabbatai Sevi, a Smyrnan Jew, son of a poulterer in that Mediterranean port. So rapid had been his progress in the Cabala that at eighteen years of age he was made a Rabbi. His fame increased. How could it be otherwise? Did he not fast from Sabbath to Sabbath and bathe until his life was imperilled? And did not his beauty, which already was exquisite, increase from day to day? From his whole body came a delicious odor, suspected by the physician of the family to be a perfume, but found on examination, to be a natural exhalation from the skin. Soon he began to preach, announcing himself openly as the Son of David and having the temerity, in proof of his divine mission, to utter the Ineffable Name, Jehovah. The offended Rabbis declared him worthy of death, and denounced him to the Turkish tribunal to be punished for this two-fold impudent sacrilege. Sabbatai was not prepared to stem this effusive torrent and, like the Apostle Paul, made a pilgrimage to Saloniki. A

similar attitude upon the part of the Rabbis here induced him to look to other lands and he besought refuge, first in Egypt, then in Jerusalem. When passing Gaza there came before him, trembling, one Nathan Benjamin, declaring by the Almighty and Dreadful God, "that he had seen the Lord in his cherub-borne chariot as Ezekiel of old, with the ten Sephiroth murmuring around him like the waves of the sea: a voice came forth,—'Your Redeemer is come; his name is Sabbatai Sevi; *he shall go forth as a mighty one, inflamed with wrath as a warrior; he shall cry, he shall roar, he shall prevail against his enemies.*" [Isaiah xlii, 13.]

This was the turning point of his career. In Jerusalem he preached, proclaiming himself the Messiah; the Rabbis trembled, not with rage, but with fear and awe. The proselyte, Nathan of Gaza, announced that before long the Messiah would reveal himself, and seize the crown of the Sultan who would follow him like a slave. Sabbatai resided thirteen years in Jerusalem, then returned to Egypt, and went again, after three years' absence, to Jerusalem, where he openly proclaimed himself Messiah in the Synagogue. This was too much for the Rabbis, who launched an interdict against him and compelled him to return to Smyrna. This time his people received him, despite the attaching ban, with rapture.

"In all parts, as if to accomplish the memorable words of Joel, prophets and prophetesses appeared: men and women, youths and maidens, in Samaria, Adrianople, Salonichi, Constantinople, and in other places, fell to the earth, or went raving about in prophetic raptures, exclaiming, it was said, in Hebrew, of which before they knew not a word, 'Sabbatai Sevi is the true Messiah of the race of David: to him the crown and the kingdom are given.' Even the daughters of his bitterest opponent, R. Pechina, were seized, as Sabbatai had predicted, with the same frenzy, and burst out in rapturous acknowledgment of the Messiah in the Hebrew language, which they had never learned."

Sabbatai's claims were further established by his marriage to a young woman who had long declared herself destined to be the wife of the Messiah. The story of this messiah's bride has been romantically told by Israel Zangwill, but we

follow here the more matter-of-fact account given by Schindler, for the story in its unembellished outlines is sufficiently romantic.

"In far-off Poland a whole Jewish colony had been butchered years before by the Cossacks, one little girl only had been saved by accident. She had been found the next day by a benevolent person half-starved and almost frozen to death, who gave her up to the sisters of a neighboring nunnery. Here she grew up to be a maiden of rare beauty; and though she had been instructed in the tenets of the Christian religion, she still remained, so she said, a Jewess at heart. One night this girl was found by some Israelites almost naked on their burial place. She claimed that the spirit of her father had taken her in the stillness of the night and carried her through the air from the cloister to this place. He had told her that she was to become the bride of the Messiah. To the astonished Jewish women she even showed the finger-marks which her father's spirit had left on her body. The Jews, being afraid to get into trouble for her sake, did not investigate the matter, but sent her to Amsterdam, where, she said, she had a brother. She remained for a few years in Amsterdam; then went to Frankfort-on-the-Main, and later to Livorno, always claiming that she was to be the bride of the Messiah. She did not, however, lead such a life as would be becoming to such a distinguished person; for in all these cities she bore an ill name. Whenever the inconsistency of her behavior was shown to her, she would say that because she was to become the wife of the Messiah, her irregularities had been allowed to her by divine revelation. The story of her adventures had reached Cairo and Sabbatai at once corroborated her story, claiming that he had been waiting for her appearance as she had for his. He sent for her, and in the house of the generous Raphael their nuptials were consummated in gorgeous style. This marriage made him at once a Messiah, and he justified his action by referring to the prophet Hosea, who likewise had been ordered by God to marry a lewd woman." [*Messianic Expectations*, 143–4. See also, Voltaire, *Ancient and Modern History*, VI, 107–13. New York, 1901. Enthusiasts (Religious) in

Hastings' Ency. Religion and Ethics, V, 320.]

One wealthy Israelite, of Constantinople, more cautious than the rest, apprehending that this religious frenzy would bring some dreadful persecution against the Jews, went to the Grand Vizier, and requested a certificate that he had never been a believer in the Messiah. This reached the ears of the partisans of Sabbatai; they accused their crafty opponents of treasonable designs against the Turks, brought forward false witnesses and the over-cautious unbeliever was sentenced to the galleys. From many parts of Europe came Jews to pay not only their homage, but, what was still better proof of their unwavering confidence, their money, to this future deliverer of his people. He, in response to their homage and funds, parcelled out, with great liberality, estates in the Holy Land which no more belonged to him than to the deluded purchaser. Nothing succeeds like success but seldom does it consider the price. Sabbatai was moving forward with such headlong impetus that his claims could not long remain uncontested.

The test came when he proceeded to Constantinople and found the Sultan's power greater than his own. It came again when the Sultan proposed to decide the matter for the then wavering Sabbatai by shooting three poisoned arrows at him, suggesting that his invulnerability would be proof of the genuineness of his claims. Again, came the test: If you refuse to submit to this ordeal you have the choice of being put to death or of accepting Mohammedanism. In view of this alternative it involved no great length of time for Sabbatai to decide that his true mission in life was to preach the total abolition of the Jewish religion and the substitution for it of Islamism. [G. F. Abbott, *Israel in Europe*, 174–6, 242, 281, 326, 484. Voltaire, *Essai sur les Moeurs*. Morris Joseph, *Judaism*, 169. Greenstone, op. cit., 213–27. Lady Magnus, *Outlines of Jewish History*, 226–30. H. H. Milman, *Hist. of the Jews*, III, 369–80. J. G. Frazer, *The Dying God* (Golden Bough, 3rd edition). A literary account is given by Israel Zangwill, in his *Dreamers of the Ghetto*. See also Leroy Beaulieu, *Israel Among the Nations*, 61, 196. G. Karpeles, *Sketch of Jewish His-*

tory, 86–9. Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, Vol. VI. Geiger, *Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland*, V, 100–5 (1892).]

Among the downtrodden Jews especially there was response to the appeal of Sabbatai. Among the Persian Jews confidence and excitement ran so high that the husbandmen refused to labor in the fields. Neither would they pay tribute to the governor, alleging with one voice, that their Deliverer had come. Indeed, they readily agreed to pay two hundred *tomans* if the Messiah did not appear within three months. In Poland, where the Jews had but lately suffered terrible persecutions during the Cossack invasions, the Sabbataian craze assumed most alarming proportions. [G. Karpeles, op. cit., 85–6, 89. P. Goodman, *Hist. of the Jews*, 104–5. G. F. Abbott, *Israel in Europe*, 242, 281. Baskerville, *The Polish Jew*, 261ff. Jost, *Allg. Geschichte. Isr. Volkes*, II, 298ff. (Berlin, 1832). Greenstone, 227. For the Tannaite period see Joseph Klausner, *Die Messianischen Vorstellungen des Judischen Volkes im Zeitalter der Tainnaiten*, Kralsan, 1903. (A thesis at Heidelberg.)] Even in England the Jews heralded Sabbatai as the Messiah who would reinstate Israel in the Holy Land. We are indebted for this information to an entry in the diary of that versatile gossip, Samuel Pepys, under date of February 19, 1666: "I am told for certain," writes Pepys, "what I have heard once or twice already, of a Jew in town, that in the name of the rest do offer to give any man ten pounds sterling to be paid one hundred pounds, if a certain person now at Smyrna be not within two years owned by all the Princes of the East, and particularly the Grand Segnor, as the King of the world, in the same manner we do the King of England here, and that this man is the true Messiah. One named a friend of his that had received ten pieces of gold upon this score, and says that the Jew hath disposed of 1100 pounds in this manner, which is very strange; and certainly this year of 1666 will be a year of great action; but what the consequences of it will be, God knows!" [G. F. Abbott, op. cit., 281.]

"Jonas Salvador, the Jew of Pigueral," wrote Father Simon from Paris in May, 1670, "has often spoken to me

about a new Messiah who is now at Adrianople. His name, if I recollect right, is Sabbatai Sevi; and I have seen a Jewish convert to him here, who affirms that Sevi performs miracles. This is mere illusion. However, since this pretended Messiah has become a Mahometan, the Turks go from all parts of Adrianople to see him. M. Hardi has given me a little book of prayers to be said by the Jews who go to Adrianople to see their Messiah. This book has been printed by the Jews of the Portuguese Synagogue at Amsterdam: if you wish to make a pilgrimage I will make you a present of it. However, this new Messiah cannot be any obstacle to your views, as among your good friends, the Jews, one Messiah need not stand in the way of another. I am convinced that Sabbatai Sevi has no footing but the understanding carried on between him and some Turkish officers, who are happy in this opportunity of drawing money from the over-credulous Jews. Those who came to pay their respects to the new Messiah are fleeced pretty smartly." [*Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. 83, p. 614–6 (1813).]

Sabbatai's messiahship found a number of claimants. First, in the person of Jacob Querido, brother of Sabbatai's fourth wife. Later, with four hundred followers, he transferred his allegiance to Islamism. The tendency toward imitation is great, especially when circumstances foster it. Upon his death, his son Berechiah, or Berokia, claimed to be the Messiah. Next came Miguel Cardoso (1630–1706), who also later went over to Islam. Mordecai Mokiah, " the Rebuker," from 1678–83, made claims to messiahship, at first preaching that Sabbatai was the true Messiah, that his conversion to Islam was, for mystic reasons, necessary, that he did not die, and would reveal himself within three years after his supposed death. The persecutions of the Jews in Spain, in Austria, in France, and the pestilence in Germany, were pointed to as heralding the messianic era. Other Sabbataian followers who proclaimed their messiahship were Löbele Prossnitz, Isaiah Hasid, Jonathan Eybeschütz, and, finally, Jacob Frank (1726–91). Jacob Frank secured a following among Turkish and Wallachian Jews and later went to Podolia where he revealed himself as *Santo señior*, " Holy

Lord." He finally advised his followers to elect Christianity, and about one thousand of them did so. [G. F. Abbott, op. cit.]

A Russian writer has given us a good account of the Sabbataian movement among the Jews of Poland:

"The mystical and sectarian tendencies which were in vogue among the masses of Polish Jewry were the outcome of the Messianic movement, which, originated by Sabbatai Zevi in 1648, spread like wildfire throughout the whole Jewish world. The movement made a particularly deep impression in Poland, where the mystical frame of mind of the Polish-Jewish masses made a favorable soil for it. It was more than a mere coincidence that one and the same year, 1648, was marked by the wholesale murder of the Jews of the Ukraine and the first public appearance of Sabbatai Zevi in Smyrna. The thousands of captive Jews, who in the summer of that year had been carried to Turkey by the Tatar allies of Khmelnitzki and ransomed there by their co-religionists, conveyed to the minds of the Oriental Jews an appalling impression of the destruction of the great Jewish center in Poland. There can be no doubt that the descriptions of this catastrophe deeply affected the impressionable mind of Sabbatai, and prepared the soil for the success of the propaganda he carried on during his wanderings in Turkey, Palestine, and Egypt.

"When, in the year 1666, the whole Jewish world resounded with the fame of Sabbatai Zevi as the Messianic liberator of the Jewish people, the Jews of Poland responded with particularly keen, almost morbid sensitiveness.

"'The Jews,' says the contemporary Ukrainian writer Galatovski, 'triumphed. Some abandoned their houses and property, refusing to do any work and claiming that the Messiah would soon arrive and carry them on a cloud to Jerusalem. Others fasted for days, denying food even to their little ones, and during that severe winter bathed in ice-holes, at the same time reciting a recently composed prayer. Faint-hearted and destitute Christians, hearing the stories of the miracles performed by the false Messiah and beholding the boundless arrogance of the Jews, began to

doubt Christ.'

"From the South, the Sabbataian agitation penetrated to the North, to distant White Russia. We are informed by a contemporary monastic chronicler, that on the walls of the churches in Moghilev on the Dneiper mysterious inscriptions appeared proclaiming the Jewish Messiah 'Sapsai.'

"In the course of the eventful year in which the whole Jewish world raved about the coming of Messiah and deputations arrived from all over the Jewish world at the 'Castle of Splendor,' Sabbatai's residence in Abydos, near Constantinople, a delegation was also despatched by the Jews of Poland. In this delegation were included Isaiah, the son of David Halevi, the famous rabbi of Lemberg, author of the Taz, and the grandson of another celebrity, Joel Sirkis. The Polish delegates were sent, as it were, on a scouting expedition, being instructed to investigate on the spot the correctness of the Messianic claims concerning Sabbatai Zevi.

"When, in the summer of 1666, they were presented to Sabbatai at Abydos, they were deeply impressed by the sight of the thousands of enthusiastic admirers who had come from all possible countries to render homage to him. Sabbatai handed the Polish delegates this enigmatic letter, addressed to the Rabbi of Lemberg:

"'On the sixth day after the resuscitation of my spirit and light, on the twenty-second of Tammuz, I herewith send a gift to the man of faith, the venerable old man, Rabbi David of the house of Levi, the author of Ture Zahab — may he flourish in his old age in strength and freshness! Soon will I avenge you and comfort you, even as a mother comforteth her son, and recompence you a hundred fold (for the sufferings endured by you). The day of revenge is in my heart, and the year of redemption hath arrived. Thus speaketh David, the son of Jesse, the head of all the kings of the earth, the Messiah of the God of Jacob, the Lion of the mountain recesses, Sabbatai Zevi.'

"The gift referred to in the letter consisted of a shirt which Sabbatai handed over to Rabbi David's son, with the instruction to put it on his aged and feeble father and recite at the same time the words, 'May thy youth be renewed like

that of the eagle.'

"Having learned from the delegates that a Cabalistic propagandist, by the name of Nehemiah Cohen, who predicted the coming of the Messiah, had appeared in Poland, Sabbatai added a postscript in his letter in which he asked that this 'prophet,' being the forerunner of the Messiah, be sent to him speedily. The omniscient Messiah failed to foresee that this invitation spelled ruin for him. It is generally conceded that the interview between Nehemiah, the Cabalistic fanatic, and Sabbatai was one of the causes that accelerated the downfall of the Messiah. After a Cabalistic argument with Sabbatai, which lasted three days, Nehemiah refused to acknowledge him as the expected Messiah. While in Adrianople he revealed Sabbatai's plans to the Turkish authorities, and this led to the arrest of the pseudo-Messiah and his feigned conversion to Islam.

"The news of the hideous desertion of Judaism by the redeemer of the Jewish people was slow in reaching the Jews of Poland, and when it did reach them, only a part of his adherents felt it their duty to abandon him. The more credulous rank and file remained steadfast in their loyalty, hoping for further miracles, to be performed by the mysterious savior of Judaism, who had 'put on the turban' temporarily in order to gain the confidence of the Sultan and afterwards to dethrone him. When Sabbatai died, Poland witnessed the same transformation of political into mystical Messianism which was taking place at the time in Western Europe.

"The proximity to Turkey and to the city of Saloniki, the headquarters of the Sabbataian sect, lent particular intensity to the sectarian movement in Poland, fomenting a spiritual agitation in the Jewish masses from the end of the seventeenth down to the end of the eighteenth century. The main center of the movement came to be in Podolia, part of which had been annexed by Turkey, after the Polish-Turkish War of 1672, and was returned to Poland only in 1699 by the peace treaty of Carlowitz.

"The agitators and originators of these sects were recruited partly from the obscure masses, partly from among

the Cabalists whose minds were befogged. At the end of the seventeenth century, a Lithuanian Jew by the name of Zadok, a plain, ignorant man, who had been an innkeeper, began to prophesy that the Messiah would appear in 1695. About the same time a more serious propagandist of the Messianic idea appeared in the person of the Cabalist Hayyim Malakh. Having resided in Turkey, where he had been in contact with the Sabbataian circle in Saloniki, Malakh returned to Poland and began to muddle the heads of the Jews. He secretly preached that Sabbatai Zevi was the Messiah, and that, like Moses, who had kept the Israelites in the desert for forty years before bringing them to the borders of the Promised Land, he would rise from the dead and redeem the Jewish people in 1706, forty years after his conversion.

"Malakh's propaganda proved successful, partly among the ignorant masses of Podolia and Galicia. Malakh was soon joined by another agitator, Judah Hasid, from Shidlovitz or Shedletz. Having studied Practical Cabala in Italy, Judah Hasid returned to his native land and began to initiate the studious Polish youths into this hidden wisdom. The circle of his pupils and adherents grew larger and larger, and became consolidated in a special sect, which called itself 'the Pious,' or Hasidim. The members of this sect engaged in ascetic exercises; in anticipation of the Messiah, they made public confession of their sins and inserted mystical prayers in their liturgy. Hayyim Malakh joined the circle of Judah Hasid, and brought over to it his Sabbataian followers. The number of 'the Pious' grew so large that the Orthodox rabbis became alarmed and began to persecute them. Under the effect of these persecutions the leaders of the sect started a propaganda for a mass-emigration to Palestine, there to welcome in triumph the approaching Messiah.

"Many Jews were carried away by this propaganda. In the beginning of 1700, a troop of one hundred and twenty pilgrims started on their way, under the joint leadership of Judah Hasid and Hayyim Malakh. The emigrants travelled in groups, by way of Germany, Austria, and Italy, stopping in various cities, where their leaders, dressed, after the man-

ner of penitent sinners, in white shrouds, delivered fiery exhortations, in which they announced the speedy arrival of the Messiah. The lower classes and the women were particularly impressed by the speeches of the rigorously ascetic Judah Hasid. On the road the Polish wanderers were joined by other groups of Jews desirous of visiting the Holy Land, so that the number of the travellers reached 1300 souls. One party of emigrants, led by Hayyim Malakh, was despatched, with the help of charitable Jews of Vienna, from that city to Constantinople. Another party, headed by Judah Hasid, travelled to Palestine by way of Venice.

" After much suffering and many losses on their journey, during which several hundred died or remained behind, one thousand reached Jerusalem. On arriving at their destination the newcomers experienced severe disappointment. One of the leaders, Judah Hasid, died shortly after their arrival in the Holy City. His adherents were cooped up in some courtyard, and depended on the gifts of charitable Jews. The destitute inhabitants of Jerusalem, themselves living on the charity of their European brethren, were not in a position to support the pilgrims, who soon found themselves without means of subsistence. Disillusioned and discouraged, the sectarians rapidly dispersed in all directions. Some joined the ranks of the Turkish Sabbataians, who posed as Mohammedans. Others returned to Western Europe and Poland, mystifying credulous people with all kinds of wild tales. Still others in their despair let themselves be persuaded by German missionaries to embrace Christianity. Hayyim Malakh, the second leader of the pilgrims, remained in Jerusalem for some time with a handful of his adherents. In this circle symbolic services, patterned after the ritual of the Sabbataians, were secretly held, and, as rumor had it, the sectarians performed dances before a wooden image of Sabbatai Zevi. Having been forced to leave Jerusalem, the dangerous heretic travelled about in Turkey, where he maintained relations with sectarian circles. After being banished from Constantinople by the rabbis, Hayyim Malakh returned to his native country, and renewed his propaganda in Podolia and Galicia. He died about 1720."

But Sabbataianism was not yet dead.

"The ill success of the 'Hasidim' failed to check the spread of sectarianism in Poland. In Galicia and Podolia, the conventicles of 'Secret Sabbataians,' dubbed by the people 'Shabsitzvinnikes' (from the name of Sabbatai Zevi) or, in abbreviated form, 'Shebsen,' continued as before. These Sabbataians neglected many ceremonies, among them the fast of the Ninth of Ab, which, because of its being the birthday of Sabbatai, had been transformed by them from a day of mourning into a festival. Their cult contained elements both of asceticism and libertinism. While some gave themselves over to repentance, self-torture, and mourning for Zion, others indulged in debaucheries and excesses of all kinds. Alarmed by this dangerous heresy, the rabbis at last resorted to energetic measures. In the summer of 1722, a number of rabbis, coming from various communities, assembled in Lemberg, and, with solemn ceremonies, proclaimed the *harem* (excommunication) against all Sabbataians who should fail to renounce their errors and return to the path of Orthodoxy within a given time.

"The measure was partly successful. Many sectarians publicly confessed their sins, and submitted to severe penances. In most cases, however, the 'Shebsen' clung stubbornly to their heresy, and in 1725 the rabbis were forced to launch a second *harem* against them. By the new act of excommunication every Orthodox Jew was called upon to report to the rabbinical authorities all the secret sectarians known to him. The act of excommunication was sent out to many communities, and publicly recited in the synagogues. But even these persecutions failed to wipe out the heresy. Secret Sabbataianism continued to linger in the nooks and corners of Podolia and Galicia, and finally degenerated into the dangerous movement known as Frankism." [S. M. Dubnow, *History of the Jews in Russia and Poland from the Earliest Times to the Present Day*, I, 204–11. Philadelphia, 1916. Translated from the Russian by I. Friedlander.]

The belief in Sabbatai has been retained to this day by a sect of Turkish Jews, the Dönmeh, who await expectantly his second coming. [Judaism, Hastings' E.R.E., VII, 605.

Dönmeh, Jewish Ency., IV, 639. J. H. Allen, op. cit., 424. E. W. Latimer, *Europe in Africa in the Nineteenth Century* (Chicago, 1896), p. 77.]

"Jacob Frank was born in 1726 in a town of Podolia. His father Judah Leib belonged to the lower Jewish clergy, among whom all kinds of perverted mystical notions were particularly in vogue. Judah Leib fell under suspicion as an adherent of Sabbataianism, and was expelled from the community, which he had served as rabbi or preacher. He settled in Wallachia, where little Jacob grew up in an atmosphere filled with mystic and Messianic fancies and marked by superstition and moral laxity. From his early youth he showed repugnance to study, and remained, as he later called himself, an ignoramus. While living with his parents in Wallachia, he first served as clerk in a shop, and afterwards became a travelling salesman, peddling jewelry and notions through the towns and villages. Occasionally young Jacob travelled with his goods to adjoining Turkey, where he lived for some time in Saloniki and Smyrna, the centers of the Sabbataian sect. Here, it seems, Jacob received his nickname Frank, or Frenk, a designation applied [since the Crusades] to all Europeans. Between 1752 and 1755 he lived alternately in Smyrna and Saloniki, and came into contact with the Sabbataians, participating in their symbolic, semi-Mohammedan cult. It was then and there that Jacob Frank was struck with the idea of returning to Poland and playing the role of prophet and leader among the local secret Sabbataians, who were oppressed and disorganized. Selfish ambition and the spirit of adventure rather than mystical enthusiasm pushed him in that direction.

"In 1755 Frank made his appearance in Podolia and, joining hands with the leaders of the local 'Shebsen,' began to initiate them into the doctrines he had imported from Turkey. The sectarians arranged secret meetings, at which the religious mysteries centering around the Sabbataian 'Trinity' (God, the Messiah, and a female hypostasis of God, the Shekhinah) were enunciated. Frank was evidently regarded as the second person of the Trinity and as a reincarnation of Sabbatai Zevi, being designated as

S.S., i. e., Santo Señior, 'the Holy Lord.' One of these assemblies ended in a scandal, and turned the attention of the rabbis to this new agitation.

"During the fair held in Lantzkorona, Frank and two score of his followers, consisting of men and women, had assembled in an inn to hold their mystical services. They sang their hymns, exciting themselves to the point of ecstasy by merrymaking and dancing. Inquisitive outsiders managed to catch a glimpse of the assembly, and afterwards related that the sectarians danced around a nude woman, who may possibly have represented the Shekhinah, or Matronitha, the third person of the Trinity. The Orthodox Jews on the market-place, who were not used to such orgies, were profoundly disgusted by the conduct of the sectarians. They informed the local Polish authorities that a Turkish subject was exciting the people and propagating a new religion. The gay company was arrested, Frank, being a foreigner, was banished to Turkey, and his followers were delivered into the hands of the rabbis and the Kahal authorities (1756)." [Dubnow, I, 211–20.]

Later the followers of Frank summoned him from Turkey. "The latter immediately appeared in Podolia with a new plan, which, he hoped, would at once rid him and his adherents of all opponents. In the discourses delivered before his followers Frank dwelt a great deal on his exalted mission and on the divine revelations which commanded him to follow in the footsteps of Sabbatai Zevi. Just as Sabbatai had been compelled to embrace the Mohammedan faith temporarily, so he and his adherents were predestined from above to adopt the Christian religion as a mere disguise and as a stepping stone to the 'faith of the true Messiah.' Filled with thirst for revenge, the sectarians hit upon the thought of lending the weight of their testimony to the hideous ritual murder accusation, which was agitating the whole of Poland at that time, claiming many a victim in the Jewish ranks." [Frank, Jacob, in Cyclopedia of Bibl., Theol., and Eccles. Literature.]

About 1750, Besht, another Polish Jew, inspired no doubt by the Frankish movement, heralded anew the coming of the

Messiah. To his brother-in-law, Kutover, living in the Holy Land, he sent a prophetic manifesto telling of his miraculous vision, or revelation. He herein asserted that on the day of the Jewish New Year, "his soul had been lifted up to heaven, where he beheld the Messiah and many souls of the dead. In reply to the petitions of Besht, 'Let me know, my Master, when thou wilt appear on earth,' the Messiah said:

"'This shall be a sign unto thee: when thy doctrine shall become known, and the fountains of thy wisdom shall be poured forth, when all other men shall have the power of performing the same mysteries as thyself, then shall disappear all the hosts of impurity, and the time of great favor and salvation shall arrive.'

"Revelations of this kind were greatly in vogue at the time, and had a profound effect upon mystically inclined minds. The notion spread that Besht was in contact with the prophet Elijah, and that his 'teacher' was the Biblical seer Ahijah of Shilo. As far as the common people were concerned, they believed in Besht as a miracle-worker, and loved him as a religious teacher who made no distinction between the educated and the ordinary Jew. The scholars and the Cabalists were fascinated by his wise discourses and parables, in which the most abstract tenets of the Cabala were concretely illustrated, reduced to popular language, and applied to the experiences of everyday life. Besht's circle in Madzhibozh grew constantly in number. Shortly before his death, Besht witnessed the agitation conducted by the Frankists in Podolia and their subsequent wholesale baptism. The Polish rabbis rejoiced in the conversion of the sectarians to Christianity, since it rid the Jewish people of dangerous heretics. But when Besht learned of the fact he exclaimed: 'I heard the Lord cry and say: As long as the diseased limb is joined to the body, there is hope that it may be cured in time; but when it has been cut off, it is lost forever.' There is reason to believe that Besht was one of the rabbis who had been invited to participate in the Frankist disputation in Lemberg, in 1759. In the spring of the following year, Besht breathed his last, surrounded by his disciples." [Dubnow, I, 228–9.]

A Messiah by the name of Mordecai, who appeared in Germany in the year 1682 had a considerable following. When the imposture was discovered he was compelled to flee to Poland to save his life, and nothing further has been recorded about him.

The Molokane, the Russian Sabbatarians, expect the coming of the Messiah, since the promises of the Prophets remain unfulfilled, Jesus being not a Messiah but merely a great prophet. The coming Messiah will not be a King and Conqueror, but a great philosopher and moral teacher, who will reveal to mankind the greatest truths, scatter the Mosaic creed over the entire world, and thus establish the reign of universal happiness on earth.

"The rites and worship of the Sabbatarians of Russia proper," declares Stepniak, "contain nothing Jewish. On Saturdays they assemble in their houses of prayer, where their elders or teachers deliver a sermon, which is interrupted from time to time by the sacred songs of the congregation. The Sabbatarians hold these meetings in great secrecy, and also, as a rule, conceal their affiliation to the sect. The criminal code, which still punishes conversion to Judaism with deportation and hard labor, and the easily aroused aversion of the surrounding Christian peasantry, are sufficient grounds for this. A lady friend of mine, a Socialist, who lived among the Molokane peasantry for the sake of propagandism, was once invited by her hostess, a Sabbatarian, to one of their secret meetings, when a famous wandering preacher of the sect was expected to speak. She was instructed not to speak to anybody, and not to answer any questions. On entering the house they had to give the pass-word.

"As to the service, it was very unlike that of the Russian Jews. The small congregation was seated in rows on wooden benches on one side of the room. Opposite there was an open space, on which stood the preacher, in silent prayer, clad in a sort of black mantle, with an open Bible before him. When all were assembled and the doors shut, he delivered a prayer animated by the broad Deistic spirit of the Jews, and then began to address the audience. He spoke of God, the

soul, penitence, and salvation in the same Unitarian spirit, appealing with great power to the emotions of his hearers. After a very pathetic allocution, he fell to the ground, as if overwhelmed by the vehemence of his feelings.

"The Sabbatarian colony in the Caucasus, where they were deported in Nicholas I's time, have developed into a sect much more nearly allied to Judaism than that of their Russian coreligionists. They accept the Talmud, and they expect the Messiah in the guise of a king and conqueror, who is to appear at the close of the seven thousandth year, dating from the creation of the world (Mosaic style). They follow the Jewish ritual in the marriage ceremony and the burial service, and permit divorce; and they use the Jewish prayers in a Russian translation.

"Among the Caucasian Sabbatarians we meet with another curious subdivision of the sect — the so-called Herrs, who are as completely Judaised as is possible to any of their nationality. They elect a born Jew as rabbi, and they pray in the Jewish language, which they try to learn. The number of these Russian moujiks who strive for the sake of their creed to become Jews is small — about one thousand — one-fifth of the whole body of Sabbatarians. None of the branches of this sect give any sign of great vitality. They do not increase, and they have no influence on the popular movements among the masses. They are shunned, and in their turn shun the people." [Stepniak, *The Russian Peasantry*, 326–9. New York, 1888.]

In 1806 Napoleon assembled in Paris the "Jewish Parliament" which raised apprehension among the sovereigns of those countries which had cause to fear the machinations of the Emperor. A circular from the Russian Holy Synod, sent to the Greek Orthodox clergy, declared that "he now planneth to unite the Jews, whom the wrath of the Almighty hath scattered over the face of the whole earth, so as to incite them to overthrow the Christian Church and proclaim the pseudo-Messiah in the person of Napoleon." "By these devices," says Dubnow, "the Government, finding itself at its wits' end in the face of a great war, shrewdly attempted to frighten at once the Jewish people by the specter of an

anti-Jewish Napoleon and the Orthodox Russians by Napoleon's leaning toward Judaism. The former were made to believe that the Sanhedrian was directed against the Jewish religion, and the latter were told that it was established by the Jewish 'pseudo-Messiah' for the overthrow of Christianity." [Dubnow, I, 348–9.]

The *Fremdenblatt* of August, 1872, describes a Messiah who appeared in Berlin in the last half of the nineteenth century. He told the congregation to announce that the commemoration day of the fall of Jerusalem was no longer to be observed, for the King of Israel had come and was about to assume the throne as a veritable Messiah.

At about the same time another Messiah was operating in Yemen. He distinguished himself as a worker of miracles and in this way attracted the attention of the Bedouins. They were blessed with an increase of flocks. His reputation spread far and wide. Later, however, misfortune came upon the flocks of the worshipping Arabs, whereupon their allegiance turned to opposition, and he was forced to flee for his life. He took refuge in a cave. The Arabs, remembering that he was a Jew, asserted that he was the Messiah. His Jewish countrymen expected him to crush the Arabs and lead them to the Holy Land. He accepted the character attributed to him by his followers, receiving many presents and living in princely style until some Arabs waylaid and murdered him, thus proving his vulnerability and the falsity of his claims. Ari Shocher, as he was called, is not considered dead; he appeared in another form in the neighborhood of Sana, proclaiming that at a later time he would reappear in his former shape. The government took steps to seize this reappearance, which immediately disappeared and has not been seen since.

At Nablous, the modern Shechem, at the foot of the sacred mountain Gerizim, there lives a sect of Samaritans, small and almost forgotten, among whom the messianic hope still burns with undiminished vigor. Through them the hope of generation upon generation voices the expectation of a Messiah still to come. This hope they base on Old Testament interpretation, but largely on other passages than those used by

Christians.

They posit no less than ten "proofs" of his coming. Among these are the promise given to Abraham; the advices of Jacob to his sons; the miracles performed by Moses; a part of the parable of Balaam: "A star shall come out of Jacob and a rod shall rise out of Israel"; the disasters that will befall the enemies of Israel; the subsequent purification and rectification of the nation.

"As to the appearance and coming of the lord Christ, recorded in our chronicles," says Jacob, Son of Aaron, High Priest of the Samaritans, "we regard its validity not from the viewpoint of our law, but as a matter of history. As to the Messiah, with whose coming we are promised, there are proofs and demonstrations in regard to his coming. As our learned men have explained in their voluminous commentaries, he will rise and perform miracles and demonstrations; he will uphold religion and justice. Among other proofs he will produce the following three:

"1. The production of the ark of testimony, which is the greatest attestation of Israel. For Deut. xxxi. 19, says: 'It shall be there for thee a witness.'

"2. He will produce at his hand, the staff which was given by the Creator (who is exalted) to our lord Moses (upon him be peace), about whose attribute a reference is made as follows: 'And this shall be to thee as a sign,' in order that miracles be performed thereby.

"3. He must produce the omer of manna which our fathers ate, while in the wilderness, for forty years. This is the greatest proof, because, after all this period, it will be found not to have undergone the slightest change. When our ancestors, in the days when manna used to fall, would keep some of it till the morrow, it would become rotten and wormy. Therefore, it would be a proof none could deny if it should appear after this long interval, and remain in its sound state. Thus the people of the second kingdom might see it, and confess reverently and increase in exalting and glorifying the Creator (who is exalted), for the power of producing such a marvel.

"These three proofs must be verified by the Prophet; and

without them his claim would be considered illegal. No matter could ever be sustained unless with two or three testimonies, in accordance with the saying of the holy Law: 'Upon the testimony of two or three witnesses a matter is sustained.' Without such proof he has no standing."

"There is," says the High Priest, "nothing in prophecy to say whether he will be of the priestly line or not. Some of our learned men say he will come from the children of Aaron, and be a priest. Others say that he will be of the children of Joseph, and 'like unto his brethren.' My own private opinion is that he will be of the children of Joseph.

"The Messiah will be a prophet, and will be acknowledged as a prophet. That will be his title, as the prophecies give it. But he will also be a king.

"The Messiah will not be in any sense a Son of God. He will be a prophet like Moses and like his brethren, as is told in Deut. xviii, 15–22.

"The Messiah will be a prophet, as I have told you, and will no doubt work signs to prove his mission. There will be unusual signs and wonders. But he is to be a king and rule the earth from Shechem, the ancient seat of power, and from his holy mountain, Gerizim. He will call all the world to acknowledge him, and they will do so. He will bring blessings to all nations that acknowledge him." [*The Messianic Hope of the Samaritans.* By Jacob, Son of Aaron, High Priest of the Samaritans. Translated from the Arabic by Abdullah Ben Kori. Edited with an introduction by William Eleazar Barton. Reprinted from the *Open Court,* May and September, 1907.]

Thus in the remotest parts of Judaism the messianic faith still flourishes. Even the isolated and almost submerged community of Falashas, the so-called Jews of Abyssinia, vaguely expect the Messiah and look forward to the rebuilding of Jerusalem. [Agaos, in Hastings' E.R.E., I, 165.]

There are many distant echoes of the Eighteen Benedictions of the Targum, that Aramaic paraphrase of the Old Testament, used in the synagogues of Palestine and Babylonia, containing prayers for the rebuilding of Jerusalem

and for the near advent of the Messiah and the Resurrection. [Judaism, in Hastings' E.R.E., VII, 596.]

The Conditions that have Fostered Jewish Messianic Faith

How shall we explain this constant recurrence of the messianic idea in Jewish history? Its ultimate explanation will, of course, not be forthcoming. Yet it is germane to point out that Israel is otherwise peculiar. No other people have shown such racial and religious persistence under the severest trials of poverty, dissemination and social contempt. No other people has shown such persistent and out-vying faith in its destiny, no other such unwavering fidelity to religious law. The messianic peculiarity is not unrelated to these other peculiarities, but rather a counterpart, their supplement and directly dependent upon them. "If in physiological experiments we cut the connection between brain and heart, we have to arrange for artificial breathing or the functions of life cease; this the priestly founders of religion did by the introduction of the Messianic kingdom of the future." [H. S. Chamberlain, *Foundations of the Nineteenth Century*, I, 477–83. 1913.]

Israel seems, both unitedly and severally, to have realized the importance of this hope. "The magnificent picture of the future kingdom, the glorious position of Israel, the vengeance the Messiah would wreak upon all Israel's enemies, and the vision of the restored Jerusalem and the rebuilt Temple, were a constant consolation to the oppressed and downtrodden Israelites. They fondled the hope with intense affection, the mother sang it to her babe, the father on all occasions related it to his household, the teacher impressed it upon the minds and hearts of his pupils — all were invigorated by the assurance to suffer and hope, to withstand the onslaughts of the enemy, and remain faithful to their religion. The feeling of the ancient Jew towards his persecutor was not so much one of hatred and revenge as of sneering pity." [Greenstone, 112–3.]

It is still true that, "die messianische Idee betrifft einem der Zentralen der jüdische Lehre." [I. Elbogen, in *Judaica*

(Berlin, 1912).] In his *Dreamers of the Ghetto* Israel Zangwill has shown us the pathetic tragedy of a dream still stirring at the heart of the mummied race, of a fire quenched two thousand years ago still slumbering in the ashes, flaming out here and there in fitful, hopeless, and apparently endless attempts to enkindle the hearts of the faithful with new messianic faith. Prayers for the coming of a personal Messiah have in recent years been abolished or modified by liberal Jews and the messianic hope interpreted as the spiritual regeneration of the Jews. [Philipson, *Reform Movement in Judaism*, 45, 105, 113, 175, 470. Israel Cohen, *Jewish Life in Modern Times*, 278, 286–7. New York, 1914.] But, although Reformed Judaism has relinquished hope of the personal Messiah, Rabbinical Judaism still holds fast to this hope. [Ib., 8, 115, 117, 163, 168, 181, 246ff., 328, 331, 470, 472, 492.] Many Reformed Jews who have surrendered this belief have given it up reluctantly, and often only half-heartedly, reinterpreting it in terms of national or religious regeneration. Thus, one of these eminent Jews, Morris Joseph, who discountenances the messianic belief, assures us that " even the word ' Messiah ' as used in the Hebrew Bible, has not that half-supernatural significance which it has come to possess. It means only the ' anointed one,' and was applied to ordinary Israelitish kings like Saul and David and Zedekiah, and even to a foreign potentate like Cyrus. In like manner passages which, according to some interpreters, speak of a Golden Age yet to come, were meant only to portray in highly figurative language a happy state of things that was inaugurated and came to an end long ago." But the renunciation is much tempered by a hasty assurance that, " it does not necessarily follow, however, that the belief in a Messiah or in the Restoration of the Jewish State is a delusion. . . . Among oppressed Jewish communities, such as those of Russia and the East, the belief in the national revival of Israel is a powerful solace and support under galling persecutions. Who would wilfully seal up the springs of so much blessing? Who would dare to tell these companies of sorrowing, trusting souls that heir hope is vain, their faith a chimera? No one can say what the future has in

store for us. It may possibly be God's will that Israel is once more to enjoy political independence, and be settled in his own land under his own rulers. Nay, it would be rash to declare positively that even the prophets could not have had this far-off event in their minds when they dreamt of the future. If, then, we meet with Jews who believe in the Return, in national revival, in a personal Messiah, let no one venture to say dogmatically that they are wrong." [*Judaism in Creed and Life*, 169–70 (London, 1903); Robertson, *The Early Religion of Israel* (New York, 2nd ed., 1892), 116, 499, also seem to admit that the earliest messianic expectation referred rather vaguely merely to the "day of Jahaveh" (Amos v, 18–20), and "a good time coming."] As another liberal Jew has phrased it, "Liberal Judaism has always tended to a firm grasp of Messianism, in the form of a belief in the perfectibility of human nature, of a steady advance toward that end, and of the ultimate conversion of the world to monotheism, and the establishment of the universal Kingdom of God." [Liberal Judaism, by I. Abraham, in Hastings' E.R.E., VII, 901, and Judaism, Ib., esp. p. 608. Israel, Ib., 456.]

There can be little doubt that since its earliest promulgation the messianic hope has been shot through with political aspirations. This political-social stimulus has been a thread of continuity from the inception of messianic faith to its very latest manifestations. [W. Staerk, *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte*, II, 85ff. G. F. Abbott, *Israel in Europe*, Ch. 24 et passim. Paul Carus, *The Pleroma: An Essay on the Origin of Christianity*, 21, 43, 61 (1909). Geo. P. Fisher, *The Beginnings of Christianity with a View of the State of the Roman World at the Birth of Christ*, 8–10, 228, 248–57, 26, 370–5, 416–20. New York, 1911. Carl Clemens, *Primitive Christianity and Its Non-Jewish Sources*, 190–99, 232, 294, 298, 300–17, 346, 363–8, 139–59, 337–40, 292, 166, 243, 173. Edinburgh, 1912 (translated by R. G. Nisbet). *History of All Nations Series*, II, 225.]

The Jewish Messiah has been, throughout, the product of oppression and the apostle of hope. As Jehudah Halevi sings, in his Song of the Oppressed:

Men have despised me, knowing not that shame
For Thy Name's glory is my glorious pride,
Wounded and crushed, beneath my load I sigh,
Despised and abject, outcast, trampled low,
How long, O Lord, shall I of violence cry?
My heart dissolve with woe?
How many tears without a gleam of light,
Has thraldom been our lot, our portion pain!
With Ishmael as a lion in his might,
And Persia as an owl of darksome night,
Beset on either side, behold our plight
Betwixt the twain.
Wherefore wilt Thou forget us, Lord, for aye?
Mercy we crave!
O Lord, we hope in Thee alway,
Our King will save!

Is this Thy voice?
The voice of captive Ariel's woe unhealed?
Virgin of Israel, arise, rejoice!
In Daniel's vision, lo, the end is sealed:
When Michael on the height
Shall stand aloft in strength,
And shout aloud in might,
And a Redeemer come to Zion at length.

Amen, amen, behold
The Lord's decree foretold
E'en as Thou hast our souls afflicted sore,
So wilt Thou make us glad forevermore!

Wherefore wilt Thou forget us, Lord, for aye?
Mercy we crave!
O Lord, we hope in Thee alway,
Our King will save!

[Solomon Ibu Gabiral's Song of Redemption; a poet, grammarian and philosopher, born in Spain in 1021. Translated by Nina Davis, *Songs of Exile by Hebrew Poets*. Philadelphia, 1901.]

Both Isaiah and the author of Micah had given reason to expect that the Messianic era would be inaugurated imme-

diately after the deliverance of Jerusalem (in 701 B. C.) and that it would herald the overthrow of the power of Assyria. [C. F. Kent, *Hist. of Hebrew People*, N. Y., 1914, 153–9. Kent is echoing the thought J. Wellhausen, *History of Israel*, p. 414ff., Edinburgh, 1885.] In the phrase of Wellhausen, the Prophet sat close to the helm of the vessel of state and took a very real part in directing the course of that vessel. [*Hist. of Israel and Judah*, 108ff. London, 1891. The same view is expressed by H. H. Milman, *Hist. of the Jews*, I, 417, 469. New York, 1875.]

It is certainly fruitless to deny the persistence, even to the present, of this messianic hope in Judaism. The false messiahs that have appeared from time to time — and at no long interval — through the centuries after Christ seem rather to have kept alive this belief than to have submerged it in that discredit into which, to an outsider, they might seem to have brought it. " The disappointment in each particular case might break the spirit and confound the faith of the immediate followers of the pretender, but it kept the whole nation incessantly on the watch. The Messiah was ever present to the thoughts and to the visions of the Jews: their prosperity seemed the harbinger of his coming; their darkest calamities gathered around them only to display, with the force of a stronger contrast, the mercy of their God and the glory of their Redeemer. In vain the Rabbinical interdict repressed the dangerous curiosity which, still baffled, would seek to penetrate the secrets of futurity. ' Cursed is he who calculates the time of the Messiah's coming,' was constantly repeated in the synagogue, but as constantly disregarded. That chord in the national feeling was never struck but it seemed to vibrate through the whole community." [H. H. Milman, op. cit., III, 366.]

Without some such hope of national revival what hope is there for a dispersed race? [See on this point, G. F. Abbott, *Israel in Europe*, XIX, 39, 85, 89, 212–13.] Through the centuries, and especially in the Ghetto, " The Feast of Tabernacles year after year rekindled their gratitude for the miraculous preservation in the wilderness. The Feast of Dedication reminded them of their deliverance from the

Hellenic yoke. On the Passover Eve was read the Seder, most ancient of house services, and round the festive board were then gathered the shades of gifted men of old who had sung the glories of Israel, and of the brave men who had suffered for the faith of Israel. Then was retold for the thousandth time, with tears and with laughter, to the accompaniment of song and wine, the tale of their ancestors' departure from Egypt. At the end of the meal the door was opened and a wine cup was left upon the table. This was done for the reception of Elijah, the harbinger of the expected Messiah. In this and like domestic rites the memory of the past was annually revived, and, if its splendor made the sordid present look more sordid still, it also kept alive the hope of redemption. The magic carpet of faith, that priceless heirloom of Israel, transported the inmates of the Ghetto out of their noisome surroundings far away to the radiant realms of Zion." The Messianic Utopia never was more real to the Jews than at the periods of greatest oppression such as we find, for example, in the seventeenth century. During these troublous years, "from a favourite dream it grew into a permanent desire. It was firmly held that the Redeemer would soon come in His glory and might; would gather His people from the four corners of the earth, would slay their foes, would restore the Temple of Jerusalem, and would compel the nations to acknowledge the Majesty of the God of the Jews." [See the chapters on the Ghetto and on Zionism in G. F. Abbott, *Israel in Europe.* Baskerville, *The Polish Jew*, 253. New York, 1906. Leroy-Beaulieu, *Israel Among the Nations*, 70, 203–4, 293–9, 370. The political forces inherent in new religions or religious movements has been recognized by B. K. Sarkar, in his *Science of History and Hope of Mankind.* London, 1912.]

The messianic ideal, like a pillar of fire, has guided the Jews through the long nights of despair, and, like a veritable will-o'-the-wisp, has faded with the dawn of better times, and vanished in the garish light of freedom and prosperity. Yet still the stream of these messianic aspirations flows on, hidden in prosperity, coming to the surface in times of oppression, with a continuity that has remained unbroken from the

time of Jeremiah unto the present day. The average Jewish lad in Russia looks forward to the coming of the Messiah as confidently as he anticipates the return of the father to the household. Even in America, the orthodox Jew still anticipates this personal Messiah. During the Passover celebration held in every Jewish household, the door, at a certain part of the ritual, is thrown open that the Messiah, if he be at the threshold, may enter and not be kept waiting, and a glass of wine is placed aside for Elijah, the forerunner of the Messiah. [Israel Cohen, op. cit., 67.] In the weekly prayers at the Synagogue his coming and protection is devoutly besought. The Haggadic Midrashim closes with verses of encouragement, prophesying the redemption of Israel and the advent of the Messianic era, while the twelfth article of the present Jewish creed, as drawn up by Maimonides, states: "I believe with perfect faith in the coming of the Messiah, and though he tarry I will wait for his coming."

The ancient Jewish community in Kai-Fung-Fu, China, finally fell into such religious destitution and decay that even the expectation of a Messiah seems to have been entirely lost. But this was when no member of the community could read its scrolls, and only one of them, a woman of more than seventy years, had any recollection of the tenets of their faith. [Cf. the article by David Kaufmann in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, Vol. 10; articles on Messiah, in J. Hamburger's *Real-Encyclopädie für Bibel und Talmud, Abteil.*, I, 745–50, II, 735–79. Leipzig, 1883; Ib., Supplem., II, 75–93. Leipzig, 1891. B. F. Wescott, *An Introduction to the Study of the Gospels*, 92–164. London, 1881. Paul Wendland, *Die Hellenistisch-Römische Kultur.* Tübingen, 1907; Ib., *Die Urchristlichen Literaturformen.* Tübingen, 1912. *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, art. Messias, Vol. IV. Tübingen, 1913. W. Baldensperger, *Die Messianisch-Apokalyptischen Hoffnungen des Judentums.* Strassburg, 1903. Dalman, *The Words of Jesus*, 234–324. A. Hausrath, *A History of the New Testament Times*, I, 191–204. London, 1878. The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopaedia of Religious Knowledge, VII, 323–9. *Oeuvres diverses de Mr. Pierre Bayle.* By La Haye, I, 156. Amsterdam, 1727.

Midrash and Midrashic Literature in Hastings' E.R.E., VIII, 626. China (Jews in), Ib., III, 558. Ages of the World (Jewish, Christian, Greek, and Roman), Ib., I, 190–205. Judaism, Ib., VII, 595.]

The Talmud has done much to keep alive this faith in Judaism by constant reference to the Messiah and by picturing the conditions that betokened his coming.:

"The generation that will bring the Messiah will consist of but few learned men. As to those few, their eyes will waste because of their grief and sighing over the many sorrows that will overtake them. There will be new mandares daily pregnant with evil; before the effects of the one have gone, another will come. The seven years preceding the Messiah's coming will be marked by great untoward events, and at the end of the seventh year Messiah will make his appearance. Although the untoward events have happened before and Messiah did not come, it must be remembered that they have not yet happened in the order and in the succession described. Again, at his coming the very schools where the Torah was taught will become houses of ill fame, the large cities will become desolate, and those who taught others religion will themselves become notorious sinners. The dwellers of Palestine will become fugitives, will wander from place to place without exciting pity. Men of learning and piety will be despised: men of distinction will be looked upon as dogs, and there will be a total absence of truth. The young will abuse the old and the grey-headed will rise for the young, and give them every honor. The daughter will rise against her own mother and the son will be shameless in the presence of his father. Even those known as the most honoured and the most honourable will be full of duplicity. Whilst there will be abundant wine harvests, there will be a very great rise in the price of wine owing to the huge consumption, as drinking will go on to an alarming extent. Scepticism will be the order of the day and there will be no rebuking of the evil-doer. And when all will be afflicted with the leprosy of sin, then Messiah will appear. Even as with the leper when his leprosy had covered all his flesh, the Priest pronounced him clean.

"There is yet another period fixed for the coming of Messiah: when we Jews will be quite helpless; when many will slander us and denounce us to the powers that be and we will be in abject poverty. Or again, when all hope of Messiah's appearance will be quite abandoned, when all hope will seem to be gone for ever, then Messiah will put in an appearance. And amongst the varied opinions, one is that this world was to last six thousand years, divided into three series of two thousand years each, during the last series of which Messiah was to come. Another opinion has it, that it would be idle to hope for the arrival of Messiah before eighty-five jubilees have passed over the world. R. Samuel b. Nachmina is inclined to censure those who fix a time for Messiah's appearance, inasmuch as if he does not arrive at the time fixed, the hope deferred may destroy the faith in his coming at all, and that would be a grievous sin, as it is our duty to believe in his coming and patiently await his arrival. Yet another opinion exists, that there is no fixed time for the coming of Messiah, since it entirely depends on Israel's repentance." [Senhedrin, 97, 11 and 98. See S. Rapaport, *Tales and Maxims from the Talmud*, New York, 1910. S. Schechter, *Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology*, passim, New York, 1910.]

"May he establish his Kingdom in your days" is the prayer of the Qaddish; while in the Sabbath Morning Service many a Jewish heart echoes the words: "There is none to be compared unto thee, O Lord our God, in this world, neither is there any beside thee, O our King, for the life of the world to come; there is none but thee, O our Redeemer, for the days of the Messiah."

Hopeless, then, of man's assistance, we have searched the prophets o'er,
Seeking promise in the judgments which our fathers writ of yore.

This has been the practical answer to the question of the Hasidim, or Law, "Why standeth thou so far off, O Jahweh?"

[The lines quoted are not Jewish but are taken from a Moorish ballad of 1568, written for the comfort of the

Moriscos prior to the Rebellion of Granada. H. C. Lea, *The Moriscos of Spain*, 434–7. Philadelphia, 1901.]

"Cooped up as the Jews were in former ages in Ghettos, isolated from the rest of the population not only locally and socially, but also economically and intellectually, they led a life of their own, self-contained if not always self-contented, in which they cultivated their traditional ideals and customs and fostered and developed their cultural possessions. Although they had no land of their own they made of their Ghetto a little Zion, pending the call of the Messiah whom they were willing at any moment to follow to the historic Zion; although they no longer dwelt on the banks of the Jordan or at the foot of Mount Carmel their lives were colored by customs and visions of the Holy Land, and all their sufferings were soothed by the thought that they would one day be gathered again to the land of their ancestors. Living as they did in the midst of all nations, and exposed on every side to obloquy and hostility, they nevertheless had the surest guarantee of survival, for they lived a life of their own and were sustained by the hope of a national restoration." [Israel Cohen, *Jewish Life in Modern Times*, 310–11.]

"None of the Messiahs," declares Schindler, "ever improved the state of affairs; on the contrary, they all left the nation in still greater misery than they had found it. This, too, is a cause why so very little is known of any of them. Had they lived in times of prosperity, when their actions could have been judged in calmness; had they been able to improve the condition of their friends, morally or materially, we should have heard much more of them. But the hardships of their times were so great that nobody thought of fixing dates or of establishing a historical fame for them." [*Messianic Expectations*, 155.]

It was a wise forethought on the part of Maimonides when, after inserting, in the creed still followed by orthodox Judaism, a plank in favor of the messianic expectations, he added a warning against giving such aspirations a practical turn. This warning, as we have amply demonstrated, has been little heeded, but, on the contrary, has been honored

in the breach. Schindler goes beyond the facts when he insists " that the idea of the advent of a Messiah has died of late; is stone dead now, and ought to be buried by the side of similar defunct ideas, in spite of all opposition which may be raised against its final interment "; and that " there is not one among us who expects the advent of a Messiah." [Solomon Schindler, *Messianic Expectations and Modern Judaism*, 4–5, 86. Boston, 1886.]

Even the social obligation to marry was strengthened in Israel by the belief that the Messiah would not come until all souls stored up for the earthly life had been born, nor has this motive entirely disappeared in orthodox Judaism. [I. Abrahams, in art. Marriage, in Hastings' Ency. Rel. and Ethics, VIII, 460.]

CHAPTER II

THE MAHDI: THE MESSIAH OF MOHAMMEDANISM

MOHAMMEDANISM awaits a Mahdi, or "Director" who is now somewhere concealed and will some day reappear. Upon his reappearance, in true messianic fashion, injustice will disappear, a millennium of happiness will be ushered in, and the law will be restored. Whether or not this Mahdi belief was borrowed by the Mohammedans from the Jews, and, in fact, paved the way to the acceptance of Mohammed himself as well as of later Mahdi, as seems probable, it shows a marked resemblance to the Jewish messianic hope. [Sell, *Essays on Islam*, 50. Wherry, *Commentary on the Koran*, I, 139–5. Margoliouth, *Early Development of Mohammedanism* (London, 1914), 18. MacDonald, *Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence, and Constitutional Theory*, 27, 114 (New York, 1903). Hughes' Dictionary of Islam, 304, 540, 574 (1885). W. Muir, *Life of Mahomet*, 112–3, 152. Art., "Mahdi," in Ency. Britt. (11th ed.); in Hastings' Ency. of Religion and Ethics; The New International Ency. Assassins, in Hastings' E.R.E., II; Incarnation, (Introductory) (Muslim), Ib., VII, 183–4, 197–8. A. Gilman, *The Saracens*, 50, 100, 266, 311–2, 414 (1908). E. C. Sykes, *Persia and Its People*, 134, 141. Meaken, *The Moors*, 351. London, 1902. J. W. Buel, *Heroes of the Dark Continent*, 330–50. San Francisco, 1890. M. F. Von Oppenheim, *Von Mittelmeer zum Persichen Golf*, I, 121–2. Berlin, 1899. A. J. B. Wavell, *A Modern Pilgrim in Mecca*, 24. London, 1913. Ameer Ali Syed, *A Short History of the Saracens*, 295. London, 1900. H. C. Lukach, *The Fringe of the East*, 211–2, 264. London, 1913. Art. on Islam, in *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, III. Tübingen, 1912. B. Meakin, *Moorish Empire*, 68. Paul Carus, *The Pleroma, An Essay on the Origin of Christianity*, 111, 1909.

H. S. Jarrett, *History of the Caliphs*, p. 5. Calcutta, 1881. William Muir, *The Caliphate*, 557–63. Edinburgh, 1915. Napier Malcolm, *Five Years in a Persian Town*, 73–5. New York, 1907. Ella C. Sykes, *Persia and Its People*, 134, 141. London, 1910. P. M. Sykes, *Ten Thousand Miles in Persia or Eight Years in Iran*, 192. New York, 1902. The true Imam is hidden away to be revealed by the Lord later. J. B. Pratt, *India and Its Faiths*, 310. Ghair Mahdi, Hastings' E.R.E., VI, 189. The Shias believe he will conquer all religions and take vengeance on the wicked. V. Piquet, *Les Civilisations de l'Afrique du Nord*, 74–6.] Mohammed carried his religion to a people already expecting a Mahdi and confident of his arrival. Here, too, disasters precede the dawn of better times.[1]

It has been asserted — and denied — that Waraka, an Arab acquainted with Hebrew, and later a Christian convert, a contemporary of Mohammed, had entertained the persuasion that some messenger from heaven, a Mahdi, was about to come into the world. Some scholars believe this expectation of a Messiah or Mahdi was entertained by the Arabs of Medina as early as A. D. 621, thus insuring a favorable reception of Mohammed's mission. His followers could not believe him dead, but awaited his return, and, until rebuked by Mohammed's father-in-law, were ready to worship him as a god. There can be no doubt that the soil was prepared for the sowing of the seeds of the messianic faith. [Hutton Webster, *Early European History*, 372. New York, 1917. A. Gilman, *The Story of the Saracens*, 50–1, 63, 100.]

A work written at Mecca in 1883, by a Sherif of that city, bearing the title, *The Conquests of Islam*, gives the following means of identifying the true Mahdi:

1 According to Mohammedan belief, and as a result of Judeo-Christian influence, Antichrist will overrun the earth mounted on an ass, and followed by 40,000 Jews. "His empire will last forty days, whereof the first day will be a year long, the duration of the second will be a month, that of the third a week, the others being of their usual length. He will devastate the whole world, leaving Mecca and Medina alone in security, as these holy cities will be guarded by angelic legions. Christ at last will descend to earth, and in a great battle will destroy the Man-devil." [S. Baring-Gould, *Curious Myths of the Middle Ages*, 172. Al-Ash'ari, Hastings' E.R.E., I, 112.]

"The greatest of these signs shall be that he shall be of the line of Fatima (i. e., a Sherif, or descendant of the Prophet); that he shall be proclaimed Mahdi against his will, not seeking such proclamation for himself, and not causing strife amongst the faithful to obtain it, nor even yielding to it till threatened with death by them. He shall be proclaimed in the Mosque of Mecca, not elsewhere; he shall not appear save when there is strife after the death of a Khalifa; he shall neither come nor be proclaimed until such time as there is no Khalifa over the Moslems. His advent shall coincide with that of Anti-Christ, after whom Jesus will descend and join himself to the Mahdi. These are the signs of his coming. The others are imaginary or disputed, and whosoever shall, of his own will, declare himself to be the Mahdi and try to assert himself by force, is a pretender, such as have already appeared many times." [Quoted by the Earl of Cromer, *Modern Egypt*, I, 351–2.]

As the following pages will show, most of the Mahdi who have appeared from time to time have not been distinguished by the stigmata given by this Sherif, almost all of them having been self-proclaimed.

The Mahdi in Spain, Africa, and Arabia

The revolt of the Shiites against the Abbasids in the second century A. H. was a messianic movement in Mohammedanism closely paralleling those of Judaism. The revolt came about the middle of this century, when the Abbasids were hard-pressed, and when the heavens themselves seemed to herald their downfall. There were great showers of shooting stars which both parties interpreted as heralding the downfall of the ruling Abbasids.

"Messianic hope was alive, and a Mahdi, a Guided of God, was looked for. This had long been the attitude of the Alids, and the Abbasids began to feel a necessity to gain for their *de facto* rule the sanction of theocratic hopes. In 143 Halley's comet was visible for twenty days, and in 147 there were again showers of shooting stars. On the part of the Abbasids, homage was solemnly rendered to the eldest

son of Al-Mansur, the Khalifa of the time as successor of his father, under the title of al-Mahdi, and several sayings were forged and ascribed to the Prophet which told who and what manner of man the Mahdi would be, in terms which clearly pointed to this heir-apparent. The Alids, on their side, were urged on to fresh revolts." [MacDonald, *Muslim Theology*, etc., 34–5.]

It was during the time of oppression when Othman was Caliph (654–5 A. D.), that Ibn Saba, or Ibn as-Sanda, a Jew from the south of Arabia, appeared in Al-Basra and expressed a desire to embrace the Islamic faith. It was not long before the astute Mohammedans discovered that he was a firebrand of sedition, steeped in disaffection toward the existing government and they forcibly removed him. From Al-Basra he went to Al-Kufa. Expelled from Al-Kufa he sought refuge in Syria. From here, too, he was expelled, but not until he had given a dangerous impulse to the already discontented classes of that province. He found a safer retreat in Egypt, and here he set forth strange and startling doctrines. Mohammed was to come again, as was also the Messiah. "Meanwhile Ali was his legate. Othman was a usurper, and his governors a set of godless tyrants. Impiety and wrong were rampant everywhere; truth and justice could be restored no otherwise than by the overthrow of this wicked dynasty. Such was the preaching which daily gained ground in Egypt; by busy correspondence it was spread all over the Empire, and startled the minds of men already foreboding evil from the sensible heavings of a slumbering volcano." [Sir William Muir, *The Caliphate — Its Rise, Decline and Fall*, 216–7. Edinburgh, 1915.]

The first Mahdi seems to have been Mohammed Ibn al Hanafiyah, son of Ali, though not of Fatima. He was proclaimed by one Mukhtar in the reign of Abd al Malik (685–705), after the murder of Hasain, Ali's son. The Persian followers refused to believe him dead, declaring that he would return at the end of seventy years. [A. Gilman, *Story of the Saracens*, 311.]

In the latter part of the eighth century, Hakim Ibn Allah, or Al Mokama, "the Veiled," was regarded as divine and

was worshipped for centuries, despite the fact that during his lifetime his armies were disastrously defeated by Mahdi, the third Abbasid Caliph. That his followers might be able to recognize him, he promised to reappear at his subsequent reincarnation as a gray man riding a gray beast.

One of the earliest Moroccan Mahdi was Mudhdhen of Tlemcen. In 851 he forbade the cutting of the hair or nails, and the wearing of ornaments. This addition to or detraction from the natural person was a reflection upon the Almighty. He secured many proselytes in Africa and in Spain but was eventually captured and crucified by the Ameer of Andalusia.

The next Mahdi was Hameem. He proclaimed his messiahship in 936 in Ghomara and secured a goodly following. The hours of prayer were reduced from the orthodox five to two — one at sunrise and one at sunset. At each prayer there were to be weepings and three prostrations, the hand being held between the head and the floor. The devotee was to begin his prayer with the words, " Deliver me from sin, O Thou who givest eyes to see the Universe. Deliver me from sin, O Thou who drewest Jonah from the stomach of the fish, and Moses from the flood." To the ordinary confession he was to add, " And I believe in Hameem, and in his companion, Abn Ikhlaf, and I believe in Tabia, aunt of Hameem." He provided fasts for Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Fridays during the ten days of Ramadan and the ten of the feast of Shoowal. To break the fast on Thursday was to incur a fine of three bullocks, and to break it on Tuesday a fine of two bullocks. Sows were now permitted as food, but eggs and the heads of animals were, among other things, forbidden. Pilgrimages and certain purifications were abolished. This Mahdi also met with crucifixion and his head was sent to Cordova.

During the Muwahhadi Period (1149–1269) Mohammed Ibn Hud assumed the title of El Madi, " the Director," and secured a large following, though he, too, was overthrown. In this same period, while Abd El Mumin was in charge of affairs in Spain (1130–1163) there arose in the western part of that country a Mahdi. He was, however, forthwith

captured, and, upon his explanation and confession that he was the "false dawn," was pardoned. [B. Meakim, *The Moorish Empire*, 87–8. London, 1899.]

Early in the tenth century (902) Abn Abdallah (or Obeidalla) found the Berbers of Algeria ready for the call. He drew vast crowds after him and, by their help, defeated the Aghlabid dynasty, getting possession of the capital of the kingdom. "He preached the impending advent of the Mehdi (Mahdi), and, to meet the expectation so raised, summoned Sa'id the son of his deceased master Mohammed. Sa'id came, but not under his real name. He claimed to be descended from the Imam Iswa'il, and called himself Obeidallah. The adventures of this Mahdi in his flight through Egypt and wanderings as a merchant with a caravan to Tripoli, are little less than a romance. Suspected by the Aghlabis, he was cast into prison, and so remained until released by the victorious Abn Abdallah, who for a time professed to be in doubt whether Obeidallah were the veritable Mahdi or not. At last, however, he placed him on the throne, and himself reaped the not infrequent fruit of disinterested labours in the founding of a dynasty, for he was assassinated by command of the monarch who owed to him his throne, but had now become jealous of his influence. Assuming the title, Commander of the Faithful, Obeidallah, in virtue of his alleged descent from the Prophet's daughter Fatima, became the Fatimid Caliph of a kingdom which embraced both the dominions heretofore held by the Aghlabid dynasty, and the nearer districts of the Caliphate bordering on the Mediterranean. Its capital was Al-Mehdiga — near Tunis — the 'Africa' of Froissart. The name means 'belonging to the Mehdi.' He made repeated attempts to gain Egypt also, but was repulsed by Mumis, Al-Muktadir's commander there." [Sir William Muir, op. cit., 562–3. B. Meakim, 41, 87. Jeremiah Curtin, *The Mongols*, 205. Boston, 1908. A. Gilman, *The Saracens*, 414–6.]

The Mad Hakim (996–1020), most famous of the earlier Egyptian Mahdi, "disappeared" rather than died, and his reappearance is still confidently awaited by the Druses in the Lebanon Mountains and the Hauran. The Ismaili sect, also,

is inspired by this idea and awaits the return of a Mahdi, Mohammed Ibn Ismail, of the family of Ali, as, similarly, do the Carmations. [Art. on Druses in Ency. Britt., 11th ed.]

"At the beginning of the sixth century (twelfth century A. D.) a certain Berber student of theology, Ibn Tumart by name, travelled in the East in search of knowledge. An early and persistent western tradition asserts that he was a favorite pupil of al-Ghazzali's, and was marked out by him as showing the signs of a future founder of empire. This may be taken for what it is worth. What is certain is that Ibn Tumart went back to the Maghrib and there brought about the triumph of a doctrine which was derived, if modified, from that of the Ash'arites.

"Ibn Tumart started in life as a reformer of the corruptions of the day, and seems to have slipped from that into the belief that he had been appointed by God as the reformer for all time. As happens with reformers, from expectation it came to force; from preaching at the abuses of the government to rebellion against the government. That government, the Murabit, went down before Ibn Tumart and his successors, and the pontifical rule of the Muwahlids, the asserters of God's *tawhid* or unity, rose in its place.

"The success of Ibn Tumart, if halting at first, was eventually complete. As a simple lawyer who felt called upon to protest — as, indeed, all good Muslims, in virtue of a tradition from Muhammad — against the abuses of the time, he accomplished comparatively little. As Mahdi, he and his supporter and successor, Abd al-Mu'mim, swept the country. For his movement was not merely Imamite and Muslim, but an expression as well of Berber nationalism. Here was a man, sprung from their midst, of their own stock and tongue, who, as Prophet of God, called them to arms. They obeyed his call, worshipped him and fought for him. He translated the Qur'an for them into Berber; functionaries of the church had to know Berber; his own theological writings circulated in Berber as well as in Arabic. As Persia took Islam and moulded it to suit herself, so now did the Berber tribes."

Ibn Tumart, as a personality, is no less interesting be-

cause of the departure from tradition which he effected, first within himself, and, secondly, within the larger social unit. The current theology explained the anthropomorphic passages of the Koran literally, while he gave them a metaphysical interpretation and in this manner explained away the stumbling blocks. As he had power to deliver from national enemies so, by virtue of his own divinity, he could proclaim the truth in his own strength. "Such a leader, then, could claim from the people absolute obedience and credence. His word must be for them the source of truth." He accordingly dispensed with all the prevailing analogical arguments. The new theology as entertained by his followers may deserve the epithet of "a strange jumble," but it was a new system and one imposed by this remarkable personality. "With them, the Zahirite system of canon law, rejected by all other Muslim peoples, enjoyed its own brief period of power and glory. Shi'ite legends and superstitions mingled with philosophical free thought." Ibn Tumart is one of the most remarkable figures that appear upon the stage of Moorish history. [MacDonald, 244–9. B. Meakim, 65–70. Art. on Ibn Tumart in Hastings' Ency. Rel. and Eth., VII, 74–5. Berbers and North Africa, Ib., II, 506–19.]

Hallaj was executed at Bagdad in A. D. 922 on the charge of pretending to be an incarnation of the Deity and of having disciples who accepted this claim. His head was sent to Khurasan to be shown to his followers there and the ashes of his cremated body were thrown into the Tigris. But many of his followers refused to believe their lord and master dead and confidently expected his reappearance. They based their faith on a passage in the Koran (IV, 156) regarding Christ's reappearance, declared Hallaj transported to heaven, and asserted that the victim of the execution of the supposed Hallaj was one of his enemies changed by God into a likeness of their master, or, said others, of a horse or a mule. [Art., Hallaj, in Hastings' E.R.E., VI, 480–2.]

"In Hakim a final appeal was made to mankind, and after the door of mercy had stood open to all for twenty-six years, it was finally and forever closed. When the tribula-

tion of the faithful has reached its height, Hakim will reappear to conquer the world and render his religion supreme. Druses believed to be dispersed to China will return to Syria. The combined body of the Faithful will take Mecca, and finally Jerusalem, and all the world will accept the Faith."

A defender of Hakim, Moktana Baba ud-Din, whose writings were known from Constantinople to India, addressed a letter to Constantine VIII, and one to Michael the Paphlagonian, in which he endeavored to prove that the Christian Messiah had reappeared in the person of Hanza. Hakim had believed himself in direct intercourse with the Deity and even an incarnation of divine intelligence. In 1016 his claims, supported by Ismael Darazi (whence, possibly, the name "Druse"), were made known in the mosque at Cairo. They received some small support in the Lebanons, where they are still championed by the Druses, and also, to a slight extent, among Mohammedan sects in Persia. When Hakim was assassinated in 1020 his vizier and apostle, Hanzi ibn Ali ibn Ahmed, announced that Hakim had but withdrawn for a season, and encouraged his followers to look forward with confidence to his triumphant return.

Shortly after the middle of the twelfth century Rashid-ad-Din Sinan announced himself as the Imam, and as God incarnate, the all-powerful Mahdi. His lameness was a stumbling block to some who expected a Mahdi unblemished physically as well as spiritually, but among the sect of the Isma'ili he won many followers. [Assassins, in Hastings' E.R.E., II, 141. For a detailed account see S. Guyard in *Journal Asiatique*, 1877.]

Khidr, "the green one," is the name, or title, of a Mohammedan saint whom Islam believes is still alive and to whom, along the coast of Syria, numerous sanctuaries have been built wherein sacrifices and the first-born of animals are still offered to him. Mohammedan literature has, at times, identified him with the Messiah, and he has been regarded as a mediator, an ever present help in time of trouble, a balm to the afflicted. [Khidr, in Hastings' E.R.E., VII, 693–5. S. I. Curtiss, *Primitive Semitic Religion To-day.*]

Ibn Khaldun, the great theologian of the fourteenth cen-

tury, discountenances the belief that Khidr is alive, branding it as a superstition. [Ameer Ali, *Short History of the Saracens*, 295. London, 1910.] But popular belief in Mohammedan lands, as in more cultured regions, outstrips the limits of conservative dogma.

The Shiites expect the return of the last Imam, Mohammed al Mahdi, who died in A. D. 873, and never mention his name without adding, "May God hasten his glad advent." This last Imam or Mahdi, when a boy five years of age, pined for his father, who had been deported from Medina to Samarra by the tyrant Mutawakkil, and there detained until his death. In his distress the child entered, in search of his father, a cavern not far from the lad's home. From this cavern he never returned. "The pathos of this calamity culminated in the hope — the expectation which fills the hearts of Hassan's followers — that the child may return to relieve a sorrowing and sinful world of its burden of sin and oppression. So late as the fourteenth century when Ibn Khaldun was writing his great work, the Shias (Shiites) were wont to assemble at eventide at the entrance of the cavern and supplicate the missing child to return to them. After waiting for a considerable time, they departed to their homes, disappointed and sorrowful. This, says Ibn Khaldun, was a daily occurrence. When they were told it was hardly possible he could be alive, they answered that as the prophet Khizr (Khidr) was alive, why should not their Imam be alive too? . . . This Imam is therefore called the Muntazzar, the Expected One, the Hujja, or the Proof (of the Truth), and the Kaim, the Living." [Ameer Ali, *Short History of the Saracens*, 295. London, 1900. Art., Kaim, in Hastings' E.R.E. A. Gilman, *Story of the Saracens*, 266, 311–2, 414.]

The Carmations, a religio-political sect of the Shi'ites which arose about the middle of the third century A. H., has been productive of many Mahdi. The tenet of this order is that Universal Reason and the Universal Soul have manifested themselves in human form, and that this human form is subject to a series of reincarnations. The last of these reincarnations will be realized in the Mahdi, at which time the

end and fullness of human life will be realized. Abdallah ibn Maimum (died A. H. 180), of this sect, did not die but became invisible, so to remain until his reappearance as the Mahdi. [Art., Carmations, in Hastings' E.R.E., III, 222–5, contains a description of other Mahdi of this sect.]

One of the most remarkable of the African Mahdi was Mohammed Ahmed Ibn Seyyid Abdullah, born 1848 in Dongalo, in the Sudan. After a varied religious career of revolt against religious authority he promulgated new religious and social laws and declared himself the Mahdi. His followers were greatly oppressed by the tax gatherers and other officials of the Turkish and Egyptian governments. Among them his doctrines met with notable success. After thrice defeating the government troops, which the Sudanese had regarded as incomparably superior and not to be coped with, his claims received increasing attention and respect.

Numerous miracles were credited to him, and his claims that the bullets of the enemy would become water when they struck the bodies of his followers seemed for a time to have some foundation in fact. The rebellion which he raised against the Turks and English was not quelled until Gordon had been massacred and Kitchener had appeared at Khartoum.

The Turkish forces which attacked the Dongala, the Mahdi's followers, shared the superstition that these followers were impervious to ordinary bullets, and declared they saw them fall from the Dongala as rain drops off one's body. The Turks were more successful with silver bullets which they made out of dollar pieces, and, almost as efficacious as these, were ordinary bullets hollowed out, a peg of ebony-wood or of copper being then firmly fastened in them. These gave new courage to the soldiers who believed them capable of killing the devil himself and, with them, they returned to the attack with renewed vigor and bravery. [A. J. Mounteney-Jephson, *Emin Pasha*, 267. New York, 1891.[1]]

No better description of this Sudanese Mahdi and the beliefs inspired by him can be given than that contained in a

[[1] A similar belief had been current in Scotland. Claverhouse was considered proof against bullets but was eventually killed by a silver

letter written by one of his followers, Omar Saleh, to Mehmed Emin, Mudir of Hatalastiva. After the ordinary Mohammedan greetings and preliminary observations upon the changefulness and temporality of life and the world, and the absoluteness of Allah, in whose hands are the keys of all things, the letter proceeds to its main purpose: "We belong to God's army," writes Omar, "and follow His word only; with our army is the victory, and we follow the Imam, Mahomed el Mahdi, the son of Abdullah — before whom we bow — the Khalifa and Prophet of God — to whom we offer our greetings, and of whom the Master of all has said, 'And in those days there shall be raised from my seat a man who shall fill the earth with justice and light as it was filled before with injustice and darkness' (the Koran). We have now come by his order, and there is no possible result but what is good from his commandments in this changeful world. We have given ourselves, our children, and possessions to him as an offering to God, and He has accepted them from us. He has bought His true believers, their souls and possessions with His Word, and Paradise belongs to them. If they are killed, they are killed as an offering to God, and if they kill, they kill in His cause, as it is written in the Old Testament, in the New Testament, and in the Koran.

"In the month of Ramadan, 1298, God revealed the expected Mahdi, and made him sit on His footstool, and girded him with the sword of victory. He told him that whoever was his enemy was unfaithful to God and His Prophet, and should suffer in this world and in the next, and his children and goods should become the prey of the true Moslems, and he (the Mahdi) should be victorious over all his foes, though they were as numberless as the sands of the desert; and who-

button made into a bullet. This was during the reign of William and Mary.

Belief in immunity from bullets was current in the Plains area during the outbreak of the Sioux in 1890.

Again immunity from bullets was promised his followers by the Moorish Pretender, Jilali el Zarhoumy, "Father of the She-Ass," who disturbed the peace of Morocco early in the present century, and was a forerunner of the Mahdi. A. J. Dawson, *Things Seen in Morocco,* 308, 312. New York, 1904.]

soever should disobey him should be punished by God. And God showed him his angels and saints, from the time of Adam till this day, and all the spirits and devils. He has before Him an army — its chief is Israel — to whom our greetings; and He ever goes before the victorious army, a distance of forty miles. Besides this God related to him many miracles. It was impossible to count them, but they were as clear as the sun at midday, whose light is seen by all. And the people flocked to him by the order of God and His Prophet.

"He commanded the people to collect and assist him against his foes from all parts of the country, and he wrote to the Governor-General at Khartoum, and to all the governors in the Soudan, and his orders were fulfilled. He wrote to every king, especially to the Sultan of Stamboul, Abdul Hamid, to Mahomed Tewfik, Vali of Egypt, and to Victoria, Queen of Brittania, because she was in alliance with the Egyptian Government. Then the people came from every side and submitted to his rule, and told him they submitted to God and His Prophet, and to him, for there is only one God, and He is supreme, and they promised they would abstain from all evil, and that they would neither steal nor commit adultery, nor do anything which was forbidden by God. They would give up the world and strive only for God's Word, and make war for their Holy Belief for ever.

"And we have found him, the Mahdi, more compassionate to us than a pitying mother; he lives with the great, but has pity for the poor; he collects the people of honour around him and honours the generous; he speaks only the truth and brings people to God, and relieves them in this world, and shows them the path to the next." [Quoted by A. J. Mounteney-Jephson, *Emin Pasha*, 245–8.]

The letter concludes with a detailed account of the Mahdi's successes over his various enemies, and an exhortation to join the host of this triumphant one.

The Soudanese Mahdi roused a tremor throughout the downtrodden Mohammedan world. During the Egyptian war Mohammedans from Assma and Lucknow looked to Arabi to restore their fortunes, "for," said they, "we are in a desperate strait and need a deliverer." In Yemen and

in Hejaz the Arabs, weary of Turkish rule, were ready to join the Mahdi should he cross the Red Sea. [Blunt, *India Under Ripon*, 203. 1909. For accounts of this Soudanese Mahdi, see article on Mahommed Ahmed in Enc. Britt. (11th ed.); F. R. Wingate, *Ten Years Captivity in the Mahdi's Camp*. London, 1892, esp. Ch. I; Ib., *Fire and Sword in the Sudan*. London, 1896, Ch. IV, XX; Ib., *Mahdiism in the Sudan*. London, 1889; A. J. B. Wavell, *A Modern Pilgrim in Mecca*, 24; *Hist. of All Nations*, XX, 385–6. Sir Harry Johnston, *Africa*, 348. London, N. D.; S. Low, *Egypt in Transition*, 12–34, 82; E. M. Bliss, *Turkey and the Armenian Atrocities*, 62, 327–9; De Bunsen, *The Soul of the Turk*, 205, 258; M. M. Shoemaker, *Islam Lands*, 25, 37, 45, 48–52, 58, 71–3, 89–91, 98–102. E. Fothergill, *Five Years in the Sudan*, 15–39, 229. Alford and Sword, *Egyptian Soudan*, Ch. II. London, 1898. A. H. Atteridge, *Towards Khartoum*, Ch. XIX. London, 1897. W. S. Churchill, *The River War*, I, 12–116, II, 99, 212. B. Alexander, *From the Niger to the Nile*, II, 357. New York, 1907. W. E. Curtis, *Egypt, Burma and British Malaysia*, 186–7. 1905.]

It is often deemed advisable to fight fire with fire and to overcome divine aid by countervailing supernatural sanction. Accordingly, when Gordon arrived in Egypt to quell the Mahdi uprising, he was instructed by the Khedive to embark on the divine mission of subduing the false Mahdi and preparing the way for the True Messiah. Gordon himself seemed impressed with the supernatural sanction attaching to his mission and his diary has been likened, by Moncure D. Conway, to what one might expect in the diary of Peter the Hermit; containing such verses as "I take this prophecy as my own"; "And it shall be for a sign and for a witness unto the Lord of Hosts in the Land of Egypt." Hence, concludes the venerable commentator, "I reached the conclusion that if one scratches the Englishman with a Moslem spear he will find a Crusader." [*My Pilgrimage to the Wise Men of the East*, 347–8. 1906. See, in confirmation, the published diary of Gen. Gordon.]

The Sudanese followers of the Mahdi may be said to have "returned the compliment" by looking upon Gordon as the

Anti-Christ whom their promised Mahdi was destined to destroy. [A. Gilman, *Story of the Saracens*, 414. James Darmsteter, *Le Mahdi depuis les origines de l'Islam jusqu' a nos jour*. Paris, 1885. E. W. Latimer, *Europe in Africa in the Nineteenth Century*, 76–108. W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Negro*, 45–6. New York, 1915. E. B. Bronson, *In Closed Territory*, 181. London, 1907. A. B. Lloyd, *Uganda to Khartoum*, 303. London, 1907.]

Many persons had appeared in Egypt prior to 1881 claiming to be the Mahdi, one of them in Upper Egypt during the time of Ismail Pasha, a contemporary of the Sudanese Mahdi. [Earl of Cromer, *Modern Egypt*, I, 352, 356ff., 470; II, 20–30, 61–5. N. D. Harris, *Intervention and Colonization in Africa*, 97, 119, 332–44, 348. New York, 1914.]

In 1799 there appeared in Egypt a Mahdi who, though killed by the French, was expected by his followers to return. When the French soon afterward retired from Egypt they supposed that the Mahdi's prayers had been answered by Allah. [E. W. Latimer, 78.] For generations before the appearance of the Sudan Mahdi the rumor had been abroad that in the latter part of this century a new prophet would arise, gather to himself the scattered forces of the faithful and restore the Moslem faith and power to their ancient height. This prepared the way for the announcement in 1881 of himself as the Mahdi foretold by Mohammed, whose advent had been predicted for that year, and gave persuasion to the message which he sent to the sheiks and fakirs round about, declaring his divine mission to reform Islam, establish universal equality, a universal law, a universal religion, and a community of goods; with the accompanying threat that he would destroy all, both Mohammedan and Christian, who should refuse to accept his claims of being the true prophet. The ignorant and credulous Arabs found further proof of his genuineness in peculiar marks upon his face symbolic of a true prophetic character, and in difference in the length of his two arms, and in difference in the color of his two eyes — differences which pertained to Mohammed the Prophet. [G. M. Towle, *England in Egypt*, Ch. V. Boston, 1886. Another

tradition asserted that the Mahdi would have long hands. See Earl of Cromer, op. cit., I, 351.]

As already mentioned the excitement in the Sudan reverberated to Abyssinia. "There was an old prophecy in Abyssinia, handed down from generation to generation, which said that in the fulness of time a king should arise in Ethiopia, of Solomon's lineage, who should be acknowledged to be the greatest king on earth; and his power should embrace all Ethiopia and Egypt. He should scourge the infidels out of Palestine and purge Jerusalem from all defilers. He should destroy all the inhabitants thereof, and his name should be Theodorus."

This prophecy brought to the fore a man who had been known as Kassai, but who now claimed that his name was Theodorus. Great successes attended his arms and he conquered province after province. When the conquests of the Sudanese Mahdi had reached to the borders of Abyssinia he determined to advance on Omdurman and destroy Mahdiism. In this he was aided by another prophecy current among the Arabs to the effect that a king of Abyssinia should advance on Khartoum, his horsemen wading in blood, and that he should tie his horse to a lone tree standing on a certain hill near the city. When the war broke out belief in this prophecy caused almost a panic in Omdurman. Subsequent events, however, failed to justify it, for King John, as he was then known, was struck by a bullet and killed, his army defeated, and his head fell into the hands of the exulting enemy. [E. W. Latimer, op. cit., 229–48.]

The messianic movement initiated by the Sudanese Mahdi still lingers. In 1903 Mohammed-el-Amin, a native of Tunis, proclaimed himself the Mahdi and secured a following in Kordofan. He was captured by the governor of Kordofan and publicly executed at El Obeid. In April, 1908, Abdel-Kader, a Halowin Arab and ex-dervish, rebelled in the Blue Nile province, claiming to be the prophet Issa (Jesus). He murdered the deputy inspector of the province and the Egyptian *mamur*, after which the rising was promptly suppressed and Issa captured and hanged. [Cf. art., Sudan, in Ency. Britt., 11th ed.]

The Mahdi in India

Nor have Indian Mussulmans been without their redeemers, at once religious and political. In the eleventh century A. H. we find a remarkable movement among them, roused by the expected advent of the Imam Mahdi. [F. T. Wheeler, *History of India*, IV, Part I, 151–3. W. W. Hunter, in *Our Indian Mussulmans*, was the first to bring home to the English mind the political danger inherent in Mohammedan religious revivals. See also Sell, *Essays on Islam.*] The revolution in Calcutta has been attributed in part to a religious cause, namely, the uprising of a Mohammedan sect, the Arya Samaj; there is no doubt that, on occasions, its activity reaches out into the sphere of politics no less assiduously than into that of theology. [J. F. Hurst, *Indika*, 489–90. Holderness, *Peoples and Problems of India*, 122 (Home University Library). *Imperial Gazetter of India*, I, 426–8. Oxford, 1909.] My esteemed friend, Mr. Lala Lajpat Rai, author of a book on the Arya Samaj, and for a long time one of the leading members of this organization, stoutly maintains in his treatise that the Arya Samaj is religious, and is not political, though numerous members of the order have been prominent in political uprisings. The fact, however, that these political movements emanate from the order shifts the burden of proof upon those who regard the political as only *per accidens* related to the religious. One cannot examine all the facts without perceiving that the Arya Samaj, like almost all other religious orders, is an easy door to political agitation. It paves the way to agitation and beckons with its psychology, if not with its logic.

Sikhism, also, like many others of these movements, started as a religious reform and ended in political organization, the submerged element coming prominently to the fore as its development proceeded. Here, too, as has not uncommonly happened, most or many of the reformers have come from the lower ranks, and, especially from one of the oppressed castes.[1] [*Imperial Gazetter*, I, 426–8. B. F. Sarkar, *Sci-*

[1] Again, Mr. Rai insists (in conversations with the author) that Sikh-

ence of History and Hope of Mankind, 61. London, 1912. See the whole of section VII on *The Relativity of Religious Movements and of Other Aspects of Human Life to the Conjunction of Circumstances.*]

The Wahhabee movement that spread from the Rebel Camp of Sittana to Lower Bengal, the most simple and rigid form that Islam has ever assumed, entertained the belief in the Mahdi coupled with intense, if not vicious, political aspirations. Accordingly, in India, notably on the North-West frontier, hope in the Mahdi and the sinister political aim have been welded into a formidable weapon of attack to be wielded against the common foe, the uncircumcised infidel who governs them. [W. G. Palgrave, *Essays on Eastern Questions*, 125–6. London, 1872.]

Less than half a century ago a wretched creature by the name of Hakim Singh, living in extreme filth and dirt, gave himself out as a reincarnation of Jesus Christ, and, in keeping with that character, beneficently offered to baptise the missionaries who attempted to argue with him. He promised to his followers, among other things, the destruction of the British Government, which, to him and to others, appeared responsible for their existing ills. He preached a pure morality and professed to work miracles. This Hakim Singh, or Ram Singh, the leader of a sect that caused a serious outbreak in the Punjab in 1872, is described as a man of considerable ability, the son of a carpenter. He gradually acquired a reputation for extreme sanctity and for the possession of miraculous powers. As his influence and the number of his followers increased, the tendency of his teaching became more political. [Punjab Administration Report, 1871–2, p. 412. Sir Alfred Lyall, *Asiatic Studies*, I, 143. London, 1907. J. G. Frazer, *The Dying God*. Golden Bough Edition.]

About a quarter of a century before this, there appeared in the remote eastern districts of the Central Provinces one

ism is only religious; but the fact that the aspiration of the individuals composing it became political soon after becoming religious, and often with proportionate zeal, would seem to speak for itself, and to proclaim a real, if wholly unintended and unconscious, connection.

Ghási Dás, an inspired prophet, who sojourned in the wilderness for six months. He then reappeared and preached to the poor and ignorant the creed of Satnám or the True Name. His followers, when he died in 1850, numbered about half a million. [Lyall, op. cit., I, 144; J. Morrison, *New Ideas in India.* London, 1906.]

Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, born in the Punjab in 1838, died 1908, made, of all the Hindoo messiahs, the most extravagant claims. The movement initiated by him may be attributed largely to reaction against the striking success of a Christian mission in the Central Punjab and against the impetus of the religious order established by Dayananda. Mirza Ghulam Ahmad was both Mohammedan Mahdi and Christian Messiah; indeed his claims were triplex, for he held himself out as also the Hindu Avatar, or "Expected One." He was the fulfillment of a prophecy concerning the Second Coming, but he was in no wise subsidiary to Christ. On the contrary, he proclaimed himself superior to him in both personality and doctrine. This Mahdi-Messiah was not blind to the parallel between the circumstances of his time and those of the time of Christ. He pointed them out in some detail and with considerable acumen. The political parallel noted by him was, Indians under British rule in very much the same subordinate position as Jews under Roman rule. As a corollary: The corruptions of India are very similar to the corruptions of Palestine in the First Century A. D.

The truth of his messiahship he proved by miracles, most of which were in the nature of the fulfillment of prophecies — and not wholly auspicious fulfillments. He is said to have successfully predicted the death of no less than one hundred and twenty-one people. Among this number was Pandit Lekh Raui, his chief antagonist in the Arya Samaj, who was assassinated. Another prediction referred to his Christian antagonist, Deputy Abdullah Atham; but he, being well protected, survived the allotted fifteen months. His continued prophecies proved so mischievous that on February 24, 1899, the Government of the Punjab ordered him to leave off such prophecies, and this he promised to do.

He also predicted the birth of sons to certain friends, but

not always successfully. More successful was his prediction that the rival American of his day, John Alexander Prophet Elijah Dowie, whom he called an impostor, would die before he did; this prophecy, to the great satisfaction of the followers of Ahmad, was fulfilled. Indeed his followers found some justification for his boast: "I shall be guilty of concealing the truth if I do not assert that the prophecies which God Almighty has granted me are of a far better quality in clearness, force, and truth than the ambiguous predictions of Jesus." [J. Morrison, *New Ideas in India*, 202–3. London, 1906. J. B. Pratt, *India and Its Faiths*, 311. H. P. Beach, *India and Christian Opportunity*, 240. New York, 1908.]

He prophesied and promised that his people would be free from pestilence without plague inoculation, yet he himself died from cholera. Such an inauspicious death afforded little encouragement to his disciples. [The best account of this man and his doctrines is that given by Farquhar, *Modern Religious Movements in India*, 137–48. Macmillan, 1915. I am indebted to Mr. Lajpat Rai, author of *The Arya Samaj*, for this reference, and for confirmation of the above description.]

This and other instances tend to confirm Farquhar's observation that the religious aspect of anarchism (meaning anti-Government manifestations) is merely the extension and revival of Hinduism. [Ib., 358. See the chapter on *Religious Nationalism.*]

The Afghan Mohammedans have entertained the belief that once the Jehad, or Holy War, has been proclaimed, the numerous battalions of the infidel become powerless against a handful of the Ghazis, or soldiers of the faith. [S. Wheeler, *The Ameer Abdur Rahman*, 216. London, 1895.] This belief paved the way for the Mad Mullah who led the attack against the British in Malakand in 1897, and who was a bountiful worker of miracles. "He sat at his house, and all who came to visit him, brought him a small offering of food or money, in return for which he gave them a little rice. As his stores were continually replenished, he might claim to have fed thousands. He asserted that he was in-

visible at night. Looking into his room they saw no one. At these things they marvelled. Finally he declared he would destroy the infidel. He wanted no help. No one should share the honors. The heavens would open and an army would descend. The more he protested he did not want them, the more exceedingly they came. Incidentally he mentioned that they would be invulnerable; other agents added arguments. I was shown a captured scroll, upon which the tomb of the Ghazi — he who has killed an infidel — is depicted in heaven, no fewer than seven degrees above the Caaba itself. Even after the fighting — when the tribesmen reeled back from the terrible army they had assailed, leaving a quarter of their number on the field — the faith of the survivors was unshaken. Only those who had doubted had perished, said the Mullah, and displayed a bruise which was, he informed them, the sole effect of a twelve-pound shrapnel shell on his sacred person." [W. L. S. Churchill, *The Story of the Malakand Field Force,* 41–2.]

Though the emperor Akbar, of the Moghul dynasty (1542–1605) never proclaimed himself the Messiah he went far to make plain his similarity to the Messiah. His birthday was on Sunday, which, said tradition, was the birthday of the Messiah; his mother was called, with his approval, Miriam-makani, i. e., "of the household of Mary." He claimed the power to perform many miracles: to heal diseases; cause rain to fall or to cease; and allowed it to be said of him that he had spoken when a babe in the cradle, which same, said tradition, Jesus Christ had done. He made of himself a priest-king.[1] [Akbar, Hastings' E.R.E., I, 272. J. P. Jones, *India, Its Life and Thought,* 311. New York, 1908. Sir W. W. Hunter, *Brief History of the Indian Peo-*

[1] The only *Life of Jesus* prior to the time of Reimarus, who wrote in the first half of the eighteenth century, which possesses any interest for the theologian, was composed by a Jesuit in the Persian language, and was designed for the use of the Moghul Emperor, Akhbar. The author, Hieronymus Xavier, was an Indian Missionary, and a nephew of Francis Xavier. It was a skilful falsification of the life of Christ, by omissions and additions from the Apocrypha, "inspired by the sole purpose of presenting to the open-minded ruler a glorious Jesus, in whom there should be nothing to offend him." [Schweitzer, *The Quest of the Historical Jesus,* 13–4. English Translation. London, 1911.]

ples, 137–8. Oxford, 1907.]

The Zikris, a Mohammedan sect of Baluchistan, believe that their founder, Dost Mohammad, was the twelfth Mahdi. His abode, Koh-i-Murad, near Turbat, takes the place of Mecca as the object of their pilgrimages. [Baluchistan, Hastings' E.R.E., II, 340.]

Some sects in India, to whom the name of "Ghair Mahdi'm" ("not expecting a Mahdi") is given, believe the promised Mahdi has already appeared. In the District of Kirman, Baluchistan, they still say that the Mahdi appeared about the end of the fifteenth century in the person of Muhammad of Jaunpur, who, expelled from India, died, after many wanderings, in 1505, in the valley of Helmend. This sect is known as the "Dhikri." The Da'ire wale, a similar sect living in the province of Mysore, declared the Mahdi appeared more than four hundred years ago. [Ghair Mahdi, Hastings' E.R.E., VI, 189.]

The Mahdi in Persia and Syria

In 940 A. D. the Twelfth Imam disappeared into a well. He still lives in Jabulka, or Jabuka, whence he is expected to reappear as the Mahdi or Kaim. In communication with him were four persons, known as Bab or Gate, transmitters of messages from the Imam to his faithful followers. Mirza Ali Mohammed of Shiraz was one of these Bab who later advanced in station claiming to be the Kaim or Mahdi. He dared proclaim his manifestation in Mecca itself. After his death many of his followers claimed to be the promised one. There was a chaos of manifestations sorely puzzling the most faithful, not to mention the Turkish Government. It had been prophesied that the Kaim would behead seventy thousand mullahs like dogs, and it was not so easy to lay the ghost or allay the fears.

The Bab who appeared at Ispahan, Persia, about the middle of the nineteenth century, and of whom more will be said in the discussion of the political significance of messianic movements, was the embodiment of this long deferred hope for a redeemer and savior. Many followed him. [An

extensive account of the Bab and of Babism will be found in S. G. Wilson, *Bahaism and Its Claims.* Boston, 1915. See the same author, *Persian Life and Customs,* 62, 146, 185, 221. E. C. Sykes, *Persia and Its People,* 36, 140–3. L. Oliphant, *Haifa or Life in Modern Palestine,* 103–7. V. De Bunsen, *The Soul of a Turk,* 205–7, 251–7. W. E. Curtis, *To-day in Syria and Palestine,* 219. *Journal Asiatic,* 6th series, Vol. VII, 329–84. C. M. Remey, *The Bahai Movement.* Washington, D. C., 1912. Isaac Adams, *Persia by a Persian,* 453–90. H. C. Lukach, *Fringe of the East,* 264ff. London, 1913. A. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia.* London, 1902. Browne, The Babis of Persia, in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,* 1889, Vol. 21, p. 485ff., 881ff., and articles by Browne on Bab, Babis, in Hastings' Ency. of Religion and Ethics, and in the Ency. Britt., 11th edition. In 1915 the New York Public Library published a long list of works relating to Babism and Bahaism.]

Bahaism, which developed out of Babism, has a leader whose messiahship is abundantly proclaimed. Some represent Baha as Christ, while others declare Christ has returned in the person of Abdul Baba Abbas. Baha, indeed, is represented as embodying all the promises, much as Ghulam Ahmad Quadiani embodied them in India. He is "the Messiah for the Jews, God the Father, the Word, and the Spirit for the Christians, Aurora or Shah Bahran for the Zoroastrians, the fifth Buddha for the Buddhists, reincarnated Krishna for the Brahmans, the Mahdi or the twelfth Imam or Husain for the Moslems. All are realized in the coming of Baha Ullah."

Bahaism is said to adapt its claims and doctrines to those prevailing in the land where it seeks to gain a foothold, showing in America a different creed from that flaunted in Persia. American Bahais are said to regard Baha as God the Father, and Abdul Baha Abbas as the Son of God, Jesus Christ. "The promises and prophecies given in the Holy Scriptures have been fulfilled by the appearance of the Prince of the Universe, the great Baba Ullah and of Abdul Baha." [S. G. Wilson, *Bahaism,* 92ff.] One writer declares the whole Bahai movement "a counterfeit of the Messiahship of

Christ." [G. W. Holmes, in Speer, *Missions and Modern History*, I, 169. See also, W. A. Shedd in *Missionary Review of the World*, 1911.]

In 1866–7, Baha Ullah (or Baha'u'llah), who had been gradually displacing Subhi-Ezel as leader of the Babi sect, proclaimed his messiahship as "He whom God shall manifest," declaring the Bab had been but the herald of his coming.

Baha Ullah and his followers were sent to Acre, for his claims caused a division among the Babis and much ill-feeling. The strength of his opponents waned rapidly and that of Baha Ullah grew apace. Acre became the center of a living force that spread abroad and attracted to the little Syrian town pilgrims from all parts of the globe.

When Baha Ullah died, in 1892, his son, Abbas, generally known now as Abbas Effendi, or as Abdul Baha, became his successor, and since then the sect has been known, after him, as the Bahai. In 1913 the number of Bahaists was computed as more than two million adherents — Persian and Indian Shiahs, Sunis from the Turkish Empire and North Africa, Brahmans, Buddhists, Taoists, Shintoists, Jews, and Christian converts in Europe and the United States.

One student of the sect has called it "a thing which may revivify Islam, and make great changes on the face of the Asiatic world." [Lukach, op. cit., 264–7.] So far it seems to have exerted little or no political power.

Many accounts have been written about Abbas Effendi, the God incarnate, for whom, say his followers, the Bab was only a forerunner. An American devotee writes, under date of Washington, D. C., November 19, 1899, "regarding the 'Holy City' and the Blessed Master, who dwells therein:

"Although my stay in Acca was very short, as I was there only three days, yet I assure you these three days were the most memorable days of my life, still I feel incapable of describing them in the slightest degree.

"From a material standpoint everything was very simple and plain, but the spiritual atmosphere which pervaded the place, and was manifested in the lives and actions among the Believers, was truly wonderful, and something I had never

before experienced. One needs but to see them to know that they are a Holy people.

"The Master I will not attempt to describe; I will only state that I believe with all my heart that he is the Master, and my greatest blessing in this world is that I have been privileged to be in His presence and look upon His sanctified face. His life is truly the Christ life and His whole being radiates purity and Holiness!

"Without a doubt Abbas Effendi is the Messiah of this day and generation, and we need not look for another.

"Hoping you will find the joy that has come into my life, from accepting the truth as revealed in these great days, . . ."

A similar message comes from Washington under date of December 5, 1899.

"It seems to me," says this devotee, "a real Truth-seeker would know at a glance that He is the Master! Withal I must say He is the Most Wonderful Being I have ever met or expect to meet in this world. Though He does not seek to impress one at all, strength, power, purity, love, and holiness are radiated from His majestic, yet humble, personality, and the spiritual atmosphere which surrounds Him, and most powerfully affects all those who are blessed by being near Him, is indescribable. His ideas and sentiments are of the loftiest and most chaste character, while His great love and devotion for humanity surpasses everything I have ever before encountered. I believe in Him with all my heart and soul, and I hope all who call themselves Believers will concede to Him all the greatness, all the glory, and all the praise, for surely he is the Son of God — and 'the Spirit of the Father abideth in Him.'

"Regarding the Household, I found them all quiet, holy people, living only for the purpose of serving in the Cause of God. They dress very plainly, but with a grace that gives a sort of grandeur to their most humble abode. The purity of their morals is evident from the calm, benign and guileless faces, which characterize them as a people. To become spiritually more and more like them, and like the Blessed Master, is my daily supplication to God."

Another American writes that she was allowed to enter "the special garden of the Manifestation, the one (according to Dr. Kheiralla) described in the prophecies thus: 'The place of my throne is part on the water and part on the land, under a green tent that has neither ropes nor a center pole to sustain it.' . . . The spiritual atmosphere of this place was overwhelming; our tears fell like rain over our faces, and some of the Believers with us cried aloud. Indeed, to enter this room is a great blessing. I have felt nearer to God since that day! On the chair was a wreath of flowers, and some beautiful cut roses placed there by the Greatest Branch, who commanded that they should be given to us; also four large oranges, which were on the table opposite, as we left that most sacred place.

"From here we were taken to the tomb of the Manifestation, and you must excuse me if I do not enter into details about this; I cannot find words to express myself; suffice it to say, that the Greatest Branch let me walk in His footsteps and led me by the hand into this sacred place, where I knelt down and begged of God to cleanse my heart of all impurity and kindle within it the fire of His love. I also remembered there the Assembly in Chicago and begged God's blessing to be showered upon you. After this visit we walked in the garden and our Lord, with His own blessed hands, picked flowers and leaves, which he gave us to take to the faithful Believers in America.

"That night He sat us all by the table, and dismissed the servants, saying He would serve us Himself, and He did so. He did not sit at the table with us, but waited upon us! At the conclusion of the meal He said: 'I have served you to-night that you may learn the lesson of ever serving your fellow-creatures with love and kindness.' He bade us good-night and advised us all to rest early, so we went to bed and this night I had a long delicious sleep and rest.

"The next morning he brought me a most beautiful bunch of white narcissus and allowed me to kiss His blessed hand as He gave them to me. He sat down and drank tea with us, then rose and bade us 'adieu,' as we were going back to Haifa that day and He had been called away. As we

were quitting the city we saw Him standing by the gate, and He smiled at us as we passed. Then we returned 'by the road in the sea' to Haifa, our hearts both happy and sorrowful, happy because we had seen Him and sorrowful because we were leaving Him.

"Oh, dear people, make firm your faith and belief, for truly He is our Lord. It seems to me that no one could doubt should He smile upon them, and no one could turn from Him should he seek to confirm them! But this He will not do, as God had declared that each must seek to confirm himself and gave to each of us the power or will for that purpose. I feel these words are very weak and inadequate, but I assure you no one could describe this place and 'tis foolish to try — to know each must see for himself — therefore pray God earnestly that the blessing of coming here may soon be bestowed. There is no other place in the world worth seeing, and surely no other King worthy of homage."

"This is He who quenches the thirst from the spring of life," declares a "Declaration Addressed to Americans." "This is He who heals the sick with the antidote of safety and confirms with a flood of grace from His Kingdom. He is of the greatest heirs to the apostles and saints, the Lord is His God and He is His dearest Son (Abdul-Beha)." [For these and similar accounts see Isaac Adams, *Persia; By a Persian*, 468–90. Grand Rapids, Mich., no date.]

Such has been the influence upon Western minds of the Syrian Messiah, Abbas Effendi, whose doctrines are mystical and symbolical, but kindly, sincere, and charged with pious zeal. [The best account of his teachings is that given by Myron H. Phelps, *Life and Teachings of Abbas Effendi: A Study of the Religion of the Babis, or Beha'is Founded by the Persian Bab and His Successors, Beha Ullah and Abbas Effendi.* Putnam, 1912. Second edition. See also art., Babism in New Inter. Ency., and article on Bahaism in America, published in *The American Journal of Theology*, Jan., 1902, p. 57–8.]

Though Bahaism best flourishes on Syrian and other foreign soil whence it has been transported, messianic hope has not departed from Persia. In the royal stables of Persia,

it is said, two horses are kept saddled in readiness for the Mahdi and for his lieutenant, Jesus the son of Mary. [E. W. Latimer, op. cit., 76.]

One who travelled through Syria some thirty years ago gives the following description:

"In my time there were two Christs in Syria; one of them a second-sighted admirable person of the Persian religion, had been laid by the Ottoman government in 'little-ease' at Gaza. The other was between ignorant block and mystical hypocrite, a religious dreamer at large. Born in the Christian religion, this man was by turns Jew and Mohammedan; 'he had God's name,' he told me in a terrific voice, 'sculptured between his two eyebrows.' This divine handwriting, be it understood, was in Arabic; that is he had dimples, as a triglyph, or somewhat resembling the trace (in Arabic) Allah. Herein he would covertly convey, among us Christians, was his mystical name, divine! and he was himself Messias of the second appearing. He was born in Latakia, and in this also, through barbarous ignorance of the Greek letters, he found a witness of the Scriptures unto himself. He prophesied to them with a lofty confidence, that the day was toward, when he should ride forth from Damascus' horsemarket unto his eternal glory, and, all things being fulfilled in himself, the children of Adam should return unto their Lord God, to be manifested in the whole world. He was a Moslem among the Moslemin. I heard their ribalds deride this self-godded man upon a time as I walked with him in their cathedral mosque, and he went on saying (especially where we met with any simple hareem, near the gates) in an immense murmured voice, 'How great is Mohammed! yea, O ye people! he is the Apostle of Allah!' They mocked him with 'Hail, Neby!' Of the Christians no man trusted him. Yet I have heard simple women, half in awe of a man of so high pretense, beg of him to foresay to them the event of these dangerous times,—'whether the Nasara would be massacred?' And he in mighty tones prophesied to them comfortable things; he said they should have no hurt, these troubles should assuage shortly and Christ's kingdom be established. Also he could show, unto

any faithful which resorted to him in certain hours, the testimony of miracles; for with solemn gesture, the divine man waved his hands over a little water, then he breathed in mystic wise, and spread his hands, and behold it was made wine: and such had been seen by a simple Christian person of my familiar acquaintance. Upon a time finding him in the street I bade him wend with me of his charity, to the house of fools, el-Moristan; by his holy power with God, we might heal a mad body: he granted. There entering, when we had passed bars and gates he received from the porter a cup of water in his hand, and led me confidently to the poor men in durance. He had promised if we found any raging one, with only the name of Allah to appease him: but as all was still, he approached a poor man who sat in a cage, and enquired his name and country and condition. The sad prisoner answered to all things well and civilly; and the blatant man of God, when he cried Allah! and breathed with an awesomeness upon the water, gave him through the bars his bowl, bidding him drink measurably thereof, and if the Lord would he should come to his health: the unhappy man received it very thankfully. 'Thou hast seen!' (said this doer of miracles), 'now we may return.' After a week he sent me his divine word that the dangerous madcap had mended, and was 'about to be sent home as a man in his right mind'; — and *I did not believe him!* This wonder-worker, after walking through all Christian sects and Judaism, had gone over to the Mohammedan profession, in that hoping, said his Christian neighbors, to come again to his own: and this was, after he had put out his little patrimony at an iniquitous usury, to insolvent Moslems: — they having devoured the Nasrany's good, derided him; and a Christian has little or no hope in the Mohammedan judgment seats. The forlorn had fallen between the stools of his natural and his adopted religions, and his slender living was passed from his own into other shrews' hands; and there was all his grief: the apostate found no charity in either. The Christian people's whisper even imputed to him an atrocious guilt. In better days a boy had served him, and he was known to beat him more and more. Some while after, when the boy was

not found, the neighbors said between their teeth, 'he has murdered the lad and buried him!' When I last saw him the religion-monger was become a sadder and a silent man; the great sot had now a cross coaled upon his cottage door, in the Christian quarter. He said then with a hollow throat, 'he was but a sinner,' and denied to me, shaking out his raiment with an affected horror, that ever such as I alleged had been his former pretension. 'Nay ah! and Ah nay!' The soothsayer would persuade me that 'all was but the foolish people's saying.' I found him poring and half weeping over a written book, which he told me was 'marvellous wise and healthful to the soul, and the copying it had cost him much silver.' The argument was of God's creatures, the beasts, and showing how every beast (after that of the psalm, 'Praise the Lord from the earth, all beasts, creeping things, and feathered fowl') yieldeth life-worship unto God. He read me aloud his last lesson 'Of the voices of the living creatures,' and coming down to the camel, I said, 'Hold there! every camel-voice is like a blasphemy: it is very blasphemous.' Said he: 'Thou art mistaken, that brutish bellowing in his throat is the camel's making moan unto Allah.— See further it is written here! — his prayer for patience under oppression, inasmuch as he is made a partner in man's affliction.' Neighbors now told me the most sustenance of this sorrowful man, past the lining of his purse, to be of herbs, which cooling diet he had large leave to gather for himself in the wild fields." [C. M. Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, p. 171–3. Cambridge, 1888.]

CHAPTER III

THE BUDDHIST MESSIAH

IT has been asserted that the conception of history as a moving forward rather than a moving backward or a see-saw, has arisen independently only among two peoples — in Zoroastrianism and in Hebraism. [See Söderblom's article on Ages of the World (Zoroastrian) in Hastings' E.R.E., I, 210.] Some of these older ideas have filtered into the later Buddhist cult, but have not borne much fruit. The reason is not far to seek. The messianic hope is fostered in discontent, born of a desire to arise above one's surroundings and impose a new impetus upon the controlling regime. Buddhism is a religion of submission rather than one of active resistance. It looks for salvation through accepting rather than rejecting the existing order of things. It consequently offers little incentive to any would-be Messiah. Moreover, the people among whom Buddhism flourishes have an easy-going, submissive character in keeping with their religious doctrine. They furnish relatively few elements of unrest to pave the way for a Messiah; they give out few despairing or even plaintive notes to invite his advent and assistance. There is little incentive to earthly salvation for him who believes:

> This body is a nest of loathly sores,
> A dark and shiny skin doth wrap it round:
> And from a thousand thousand oozing pores
> It sendeth out its stenches like an open wound.

Christian nations have been committed — and some say the New Testament justifies it — to a policy of aggressive defense, while, in the spirit of Buddhism,

The East bowed low before the blast,
In patient, deep disdain;
She let the legions thunder past,
And plunged in thought again.

[S. K. Saunders, *The Heart of Buddhism;* and *The Story of Buddhism*, 25. New York, 1916.]

The spirit of Hinduism and of Buddhism is not one of regeneration.—"It is only a vague postponement of the moral issues of the soul. There is recognized no future intervention that can effect a change in the downward drift. They emphasise the fact that according to the sowing shall be the reaping, and that in no part of the universe can ill desert escape its rewards. There is no hint that any pitying eye of God or devil looks upon the struggle, or any arm is stretched forth to raise up the crippled and helpless soul. Time is the only Savior — time so vague, so distant, that the mind cannot follow its cycles or trace the relations of cause and effect." [Ellinwood, *Oriental Religions and Christianity*, 347. Cf. art., Jesus Christ, by W. D. MacKenzie, in Hastings' E.R.E., VII, 505, for comparison with Christianity.]

But neither messianic faith nor action in accordance with it is entirely absent. Avalokita, the Buddhist "all-sided one," whose face is turned in every direction in order to see everything and save everybody, is a savior far superior to the other great Bodhisattvas — as the future Buddhas are called — to think of whom is better than to do honor to thousands of Buddhas. At the end of our age he will appear as the thousandth and last Buddha of the age. [See the following articles in Hastings' E.R.E.: Avalokitesvara, II, 256–61. Bodhisattva, II, 739–53. Adibuddha, I, 93–100. Lotus of the True Law, VIII, 145–6. (All by L. De La Vallée Poussin.) Arhat, I, 774–5 (by T. W. Rhys Davids). Incarnation (Buddhist), VII, 187–8; (Indian), 193–7). Moggalava, VIII, 768–70. Moksa, Ib., 770–4.]

Manjusri, one of the Buddhistic "gods," declared in his bodhisattva vow that he did not wish to become a Buddha quickly, because he wished to remain to the last in this world

in order to save its beings. [Art., Manjusri, in Hastings' E.R.E., VIII, 405, n. 2 (by Poussin).]

The Buddhist expectation of a King of Kings was partly political, partly philosophical or religious in origin, and has many elements in common with the Jewish messianic expectation. Gotama, the later accepted Buddha, was the fulfilment of these hopes only in the limited degree that Jesus was the fulfilment of earlier Jewish hopes. Gotama exceeded in spiritual loftiness the prediction of a King of Kings as much as Jesus exceeded the prediction of the Messiah; nevertheless, he partially filled the earlier demand, and had not Gotama risen to the occasion some other would have endeavored to do so. [T. W. Rhys Davids, *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion as Illustrated by Some Points in the History of Indian Buddhism*, 129–50. London, 1897. Ch. XII, The Christ and the Buddha, in J. P. Jones, *India, Its Life and Thought*. New York, 1908.]

The way for the advent of a Messiah is paved by the belief that Krishna will return at the end of all time, when physical and moral need have reached their acme upon earth. In the clouds of heaven he will appear upon his white steed. With a comet in his right hand, as a sword of flame, he will destroy the old earth by fire, found a new earth and a new heaven, and establish a golden age of purity and perfection in which there will be nothing but pure joy and blessedness. [Arthur Drews, *The Christ Myth*, 107.]

The tenth avatar of Hinduism is to come at a time of great and universal wickedness and establish a kingdom of righteousness on the earth. So similar is this expectation to the Christian messianic hope that "some years ago the Rev. John Newton, of Lahore, took advantage of this prediction and wrote a tract showing that the true deliverer and king of righteousness had already come in the person of Jesus Christ. So striking seemed the fulfilment viewed from the Hindu standpoint, that some hundreds in the city of Rampore were led to a faith in Christ as an avatar of Vishnu." [Ellinwood, 282–3. J. T. Sunderland, *The Bible, Its Origin, Growth*, etc. New York, 1898. J. P. Jones, *India, Its Life and Thought*. New York, 1908.]

Early Hindoo and Chinese traditions refer to Buddha's return from heaven in the flesh. His arrival is to be attested by miracles. He will establish a kingdom of heavenly truth and justice, will die and return to heaven. "I am about to descend and be born among men, simply to give peace and rest to all flesh, and to remove all sorrow and grief from the world." [Ernest De Bunsen, *The Angel-Messiah of Buddhists, Essenes, and Christians.* London, 1880.]

In generating messianic hope the Japanese seem to have outstripped their slower Eastern neighbors. It is reported, though confessedly not on the best of evidence, that about A. D. 50, a Brahmanical sect was introduced into Japan, the doctrine of which was the redemption of the world by the son of a virgin, who died to expiate the sins of men, thus ensuring to them a joyful resurrection. [*Manners and Customs of the Japanese in the Nineteenth Century*, 247. New York, 1841. John L. Atkinson, *Prince Siddartha: The Japanese Buddha.* Boston, 1893.] Possessions and incarnations are frequent phenomena among this people and do much to pave the way to intense religious zeal. [Percival Lowell, *Occult Japan*, 97–192.]

The most remarkable of Japanese Messiahs appeared but a few years ago (1910) on the streets of Tokyo, wearing a frock coat of foreign make and a sleeveless haori over it. This Buddha, or Christ, bore the name of Miyazaki. On the haori were characters meaning Prophet, Buddha, and Messiah. He had been what the Japanese call a soshi, one of the class of the politically discontented, or, as an unsympathetic writer has defined it, "one of the turbulent class who suffer from too much education and too little to eat, and who are at the root of every disturbance." He had been a journalist. He now published a book called *My New Gospel*, in which he set forth his claims as the Messiah-Buddha,—"The consummation of all the prophecies since the beginning of the world." In the year of his appearance and self-proclamation he claimed about fifty followers. [Lady Lawson, *Highways and Homes of Japan*, 284. London, 1910. The subsequent fate of this sect I have not been able to discover, and my efforts to obtain a copy of Miyazaki's work have, so far,

been fruitless.]

The Lamas place their "Coming Buddha," or Messiah, in the West and anticipate his arrival from that point of the compass Some have urged that the Tsar was the fulfillment of this wish. But the sect of Lamaism known as Ge-lug, or Yellow Hats, derive their divine inspiration from the living Buddhist Messiah, Maitreya, "the next coming Buddha, as revealed through the succession of Indian saints from Asanga down to Atisa, and through the Tibetan saints from Atisa's disciple Bromton downwards to Tsong-Kha-pa." [L. A. Waddell, *Lhasa and Its Mysteries*, 31, 369. London, 1905. Art., Lamaism, Hastings' E.R.E., VII, 787; Maitreya, Vol. VIII.]

Nor have Buddhists in other lands given up the expectation of the return of a divine being in human form who will save men's bodies as well as their souls. According to the Theosophists there is in India at this time, in the person of Alcyone, or J. Krishnamurta, one of these messianic reincarnations. [G. Herbert Whyte, *The Great Teachers*. Theosophical Publishing House, London, 1913. Alcyone (J. Krishnamurti), *At the Feet of the Master*. Theosophical Publishing House, Los Angeles, Cal. No date.] Gorakhnath, the patron saint of the Indian State Gorkha, is ubiquitous and all powerful, the representative of the god Siva, or even a form of that god. May not the living man be equally the representative of some god — a true Messiah? [Gorakhnath, in Hastings' E.R.E., VI, 328–30.]

In the desire for the Buddha there is hope for one who will bring personal salvation as well as universal good, for a Buddha

> "Who from all ill and sorrow hast released
> Me and so many, many stricken folk."

This Buddha will return when there are some who understand the message of salvation. Not once only will this Buddha come; he will appear from time to time, the conditions of his advent being considered in the canonical books in the light of a natural law.

" As on a crag, on crest of mountain standing,
A man might watch the people far below,
E'en so do Thou, O Wisdom fair, ascending,
O Seer of all, the terraced heights of truth,
Look down, from grief released, upon the nations
Sunken in Grief, oppressed with birth and age.
Arise, thou hero! Conqueror in the battle!
Thou freed from debt! Lord of the pilgrim-band,
Walk the world o'er, sublime and blessed Teacher!
Teach us the Truth — there are who'll understand."

[Rhys Davids, in art., Desire, Hastings' E.R.E., IV, 667–8. Pessimism (Indian), Ib., IX, 811–14.]

CHAPTER IV

MESSIANIC MOVEMENTS AMONG THE NEGROES

THE messianic excitement carried to a high pitch by the "Wilderness Worshipers" in 1889 and 1890 among the negroes along the Savannah river in Georgia and South Carolina, when one man after another proclaimed himself the Christ and promised miracles, may have had its impetus in the white man's domination. Part of the promise held out to his followers by the first of these Christs, a mulatto bearing the name of Bell, was that the world would come to an end on August 16, 1890; on which date all negroes would fade into white men, all white men become black. The promise of the Messiah carried a "rider" to the effect that all those who wished to ascend on the last day must purchase wings from him. [Mooney in Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, Pt. 2.]

Under date of January 17, 1916, Prof. Howard W. Odum, of the University of Georgia, writes me:

"We had a negro preacher in South Georgia last year who claimed to be the Messiah and who got considerable following from community to community by offering to heal the sick and to save the wicked; however, he charged a fee and was later arrested for obtaining money under false pretenses.

"Another one near Atlanta claimed to be the Messiah and organized a sort of membership of the blessed and set a certain day when he should arise and fly into the skies. On that day, however, when a considerable number of negroes had gathered, he failed to appear, and was later arrested for taking money under false pretenses. I have heard of a number of such cases, but they are not genuine cases of messianic aspirations, in all probability."

At any rate they show a susceptibility on the part of

those to whom the appeal is made, and this susceptibility is probably somewhat greater than among their white brethren. Many of the negro songs, as Prof. Odum calls to my attention, show a genuine feeling of companionship with the Messiah, whom they envisage realistically. [See the negro songs collected by Prof. Odum and published in *The Journal of Religious Psychology*, 1910. Dr. J. J. Watson has shown me many songs of similar import collected by him.]

To another correspondent I am indebted for the following information:

"In two negro insurrections that occurred in this state (Virginia), the leaders, if I remember correctly, claimed supernatural powers and authorities.

"In the opening years of the last century — during Governor Monroe's administration (1798–1802) — the negroes near Richmond formed a plot, rose in large numbers and advanced on Richmond. Timely heavy rains flooded the creeks and retarded their advance, giving the whites time to guard against their attack. The leader, it was said, claimed supernatural guidance and power. Mention is made of this attack in the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, published in Richmond by the Virginia Historical Society.

"In August, 1831, a body of negroes (60 to 70) rose in Southampton County and massacred 55 whites. Their leader, Nat Turner, declared 'he had been commissioned by Jesus Christ, and that he was acting under inspired direction in what he was going to accomplish.'

"Howe, in his *Virginia, Its History and Antiquities*, published in 1845 by Babcock and Co., Charleston, South Carolina, gives a fairly full account of this insurrection in pages 471–474. In Nat's confession, given on page 472, he says:

"'On the twelfth day of May, 1828, I heard a loud noise in the heavens, and the spirit instantly appeared to me, and said the serpent was loosened, and Christ had laid down the yoke he had borne for the sins of men; and that I should take it on and fight against the serpent, etc.'" [This rising is noticed by other Virginia histories, and accounts of it have frequently appeared in the public prints. Howe, in the same volume, refers (p. 126, 127) to the rising in Governor

Monroe's first administration. Information furnished by Mr. G. M. McBryde, of Blacksburg, Virginia, under date of March 19, 1916. W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Negro*, 196. New York, 1915.]

A Santo Domingo Messiah by the name of Olivero gained prominence in that island in 1913 and continued to hold forth in the mountainous section near the center of the island until 1917, when United States marines captured him and put an end to his activities. He claimed supernatural power to heal the sick and the ability to perform miracles.

Haiti also harbored a savior of his people. Like the Messiahs of the Plains Area, of the Sudan, and the "Mad Mullah" of India, he claimed to be proof against bullets. Faith in this invulnerability enabled him to foment and lead several revolutions; and other supernatural powers were attributed to him. He was finally shot. [Information furnished by Mr. Marian E. Beall, formerly of the U. S. Customs Receivership in Santo Domingo.]

In 1856–7, an outbreak among South African tribes against the British is directly traceable to the misfortunes which the white men had brought upon them. "An impostor, named Umlanjeni, predicted that if the confederate tribes slaughtered all their cattle, destroyed every peck of corn, and left the ground untilled in the spring, that at a certain time their ancestors would rise and drive the English into the sea whence they came. He further alleged that he saw in his visions the cattle belonging to the ancestors coming in huge droves over the hills, and that after the expulsion of the English, every man could have as many as he had provided folds for the eventful day. The corn pits also were to be filled without tillage. This delusion took possession of their fevered imagination, and a number of tribes destroyed every hoof and left their corn lying in heaps to rot. Feasting, dancing, and warlike demonstrations occupied their whole time. In vain the Government tried to avert the impending ruin." [MacDonald, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol. 19, p. 280–2. Du Bois, op. cit., 91. The return of the dead heroes was promised.]

The distraught negroes of Nigeria are said to expect, as a result of Mohammedan teaching, that a foreign power will come into the land and oppress them for four years; then the Mahdi will arise and the intruders will be driven out. [G. D. Hazzledine, *The White Man in Nigeria*, 31, 224.]

"The measures taken by the protectorate of Nigeria in recent years to regulate taxation, emancipate slaves, and introduce other reforms led to the rise of numerous Mahdis; between the years 1900 and 1905 there were a dozen in Sokoto, and as many in the other provinces. In 1905 Mahdis arose simultaneously in Saturu, Banchi, and Kontagara. Most of these were caught, tried, and executed, the government regarding such severity as necessary for the preservation of order. In 1907 there was one Mahdi at Banchi, 'but the situation was in general satisfactory.'" [Mahdi (by Margoliouth), in Hastings' E.R.E., VIII, 340.]

In the Sudan, as elsewhere, good and stable government renders the appearance of Mahdis rarer and rarer and their adherents fewer and fewer. "To the question whether there were any relics of Mahdiism in the Sudan, the *Cairene Journal Muqtqtif* as early as 1902 (XXVII, 1126) replied that the introduction of security and justice in the place of the long reign of terror which that system had produced had effectually destroyed its traces." [Ib.]

CHAPTER V

MESSIAHS OF THE NORTH AMERICAN ABORIGINES

The Religious Experience of Primitive Peoples

THE religious life of primitive peoples is usually pictured as one hedged around with peculiar restrictions. Nothing is so inveterate as religious practice, nothing so thoroughly socially sanctified, no restrictions so difficult to escape, as the injunctions of primitive religion. It is only in the higher forms of society, we are insistently reminded, that the individual can make his peace with God after his own inclination, and follow his own plan of salvation.

Though there is much truth in this description there can be no doubt that the formal aspects of primitive life have been over-emphasized. The compulsory aspect of primitive religious life has been magnified into disproportion, the resultant picture becoming a caricature rather than a characterization.

Primitive religion is, in fact, as rich in content as in form. In the experiences of the Australian medicine-man there is a new stress of values, a new interpretation of life and behavior comparable to the data presented by William James in his *Varieties of Religious Experiences.* The alleged uniformity does not exist. Among the Maori there are, according to Treagear, "some widely different accounts given by those who have returned from the Under World." [1]

Among the Kafirs a person sometimes "intimates that he has received revelations from the spirit world. He is really a monomaniac," says Theal, "but if his statements are believed his power at once becomes greater than that of the highest chief and his commands are implicitly obeyed." [2]

[1] E. Treagear, *Maori Race,* 412.
[2] Theal, *Kafir Folk-Lore,* 21–2.

In North America there is frequently an achievement of religious independence. Among the Gros Ventres, men went out to fast in the hope of receiving supernatural aid, though not all men tried to acquire such powers and some of those who did failed. As a result of his death experience and the excursion of his soul into the realm of phantom shades, Engawaen Jim, a Northern Shoshone, mistrusted the statements both of the medicine-men and of the missionaries about the spirit world, since their accounts failed to tally with his.

Even in the ritualistic phase individual innovation has played an important role, as witness Hopi ceremonials.[1]

Among the Apache it appears that any man may acquire supernatural power. "It is necessary to convince his friends that 'he has the gift,' that is, he must show that he is a dreamer of dreams, given to long fasts and vigils, able to interpret omens in a satisfactory manner, and do other things of that general nature to demonstrate the possession of an intense spirituality. Then he will begin to withdraw, at least temporarily, from the society of his fellows and devote himself to long absences, especially by night, in the 'high places.' Such sacred fanes, perched in dangerous and hidden retreats, can be, or until lately could be, found in many parts of our remote western territory." In a word, a man must hear the call before he can follow his calling, he must show ability before he can secure recognition. The individual who "has it in him" will succeed. "While it is regarded as a surer mode of learning how to be a medicine-man to seek the tuition of some one who has already gained power and influence as such, and pay him liberally in presents of all kinds for a course of instruction lasting a year or longer, I could learn of nothing to prohibit a man from assuming the role of a prophet or healer of the sick, if so dis-

1 Fewkes, 21, A. R. A. B. E. 113. In a letter dated April 17, 1913, Dr. Fewkes tells me he was personally acquainted with no less than four of these innovators. He adds, "You will find much individual invention in the semi-secular acts, impromptu and otherwise, of the Hopi clowns or Koyimsi, who carry on their pranks, varying each performance, while the Sacred Katcinas are being danced. One of these is referred to in an article in the *American Anthropologist,* vol. 12, N. S., p. 59."

posed, beyond the dread of punishment for failure to cure or alleviate sickness or infirmity. Neither is there such a thing as settled dogma among these medicine-men. Each follows the dictates of his own inclinations, consulting such spirits and powers as are most amenable to his supplications and charms; but no two seem to rely upon identically the same influences."

"Even in the spirit dance, which is possibly the most solemn function in which the Apache medicine-men can engage, the head-dresses and kilts adhered closely enough to the one pattern, but the symbolism employed by each medicine-man was entirely different from that adopted by his neighbor."

The L'Annee Sociologique School have tried to resolve all individual actions into mere phases of social activity, their source being in the social *milieu* rather than in the individual. For Durkheim, compulsory religion can have no origin in individuals but only in the *etats de l'ame collective, et elle varie comme ces etats. Si elle etait fondee dans la constitution de l'individu, elle ne se presenterait pas a lui sous cet aspect coercitif.* Gehlke has not done Durkheim an injustice in alleging that in his later theory he has made of the individual only a body without a soul of his own. "His soul is the mind of society incarnated in his body. The social mind is all the mind that exists; and in this sense the social is the only real." [1]

We propose to submit examples of the introduction by individuals of new religions and to show that in many of these cases the individual presents to society the coercitive aspect of the religion. These new religions seem to show that the individual is a social system in himself, capable of taking from other cultures some new idea and giving this to his own group. He, more completely than the group, embodies the religious concepts and is the source of their development. To account for many of the phenomena of change and progress in the social order we must admit the reality of the individual as a separable determining agent. Though often bor-

[1] Charles E. Gehlke, *Emile Durkheim's Contributions to Sociological Theory.* New York, 1915. See, especially, Durkheim, *La Vie Religieuse.*

rowed from another group, these concepts are reinterpreted by the individual, infused with new meaning, and by him imposed upon the group. In two senses of the word it may be an imposition upon the part of the individual, for his doctrines often bring the group to ruin. Though they later see the extent to which their wills have been swayed by the prophet, their ideas submerged beneath his own, the temporary subordination may be complete and thoroughgoing. These instances eloquently challenge the subordination of individual to group; nay, more, they seem to demonstrate successfully the larger reality of individual mind.

For example, as the result of the journeys of a certain Southern Massim, one Tokeri, to Hiyoyoa, the chief over the land of the dead, "he warned the people of Milne Bay to kill their pigs and to build houses in the bush, for, said he, a great wave would presently come from Hiyoyoa and, flooding the coast, would sweep their dwellings away. Following the wave Hiyoyoa (a mythical person, or god) would appear at the head of Milne Bay, beneath which it now exists. At Gabugabuna, his own hamlet, his words were believed, and many pigs were killed and houses built in the bush. At Wagawaga they were content to build houses in the bush without slaughtering their pigs, while Maivara remained sceptical and refused to act on his prophecies. As time passed and there were no signs of the fulfillment of the prophecy, the feeling of the Bay turned against the prophet. Tokeri could not, however, be killed out of hand, because Samarai, the seat of government, was too near. He was threatened with death so often on account of the pigs he had caused to be killed and for the trouble he had caused in the Bay, especially to the old folk, that the Government rose to the occasion, and interned the prophet for a short time upon some technical plea of extortion connected with the pig-killing, until the heat of resentment had abated." [C. G. Seligmann, *The Melanesians of British New Guinea*, 656. Macmillan, 1908.] This, if not a case of genuine messianic manifestation, shows at least the inception of messianism in the nature of motives and of circumstances.

Messiahs of the North American Aborigines

Among no primitive peoples known to us have messiahs flourished so abundantly and vigorously as among the aborigines of North America. One may suggest two reasons for this frequency:

1. The early Christian influence, represented especially by the Spanish missions and the Jesuits, as well as, later, the English. Christianity, thus, early sowed the seed of messianic faith which later brought forth fruit abundantly, especially under conditions like those prevailing among the downtrodden Jews. Here the fruit of missionary endeavour has had a longer period for full fruition than among any other primitive people.

2. The energy and vigor of the American tribes. They have resisted the disrupting forces of European civilization more arduously than have other savages. Individual and tribal strength, pride in their culture, and disdain of the European, are the traits that have marked the Indian. Like the Jews, though trampled upon, they have disdainfully scoffed at their oppressors. They possessed none of those servile and humble qualities which made of the Negro a profitable and easy slave.[1] A bluer blood coursed through their veins; servility was not to their mood. In many respects they counted honor above life.

It is of the American messiahs, also, that we have the best and most complete accounts, thanks largely to the work of the American ethnologist, Mr. Mooney. He first brought the importance of these phenomena home to us and gave both a vivid description and an incisive interpretation of them. No fitter introduction to this topic could be given than the following two paragraphs from Mr. Mooney's pen (from whom, in the following account, we shall quote liberally):

"From time to time in every great tribe and every im-

[1] In some instances they submitted to enslavement by other Indians; yet repeated attempts upon the part of Europeans to enslave them ended in failure, and often disastrously. [See, for example, Almon Wheeler Lauber, *Indian Slavery in Colonial Times within the Present Limits of the United States.* New York, 1913.]

portant crisis of Indian history we find certain men rising above the position of ordinary doctor, soothsayer, or ritual priest to take upon themselves an apostleship of reform and return to the uncorrupted ancestral beliefs and custom as the necessary means to save their people from impending destruction by decay or conquest. In some cases the teaching takes the form of a new Indian gospel, the revolutionary culmination of a long and silent development of the native religious thought. As the faithful disciples were usually promised the return of the earlier and happier conditions, the restoration of the diminished game, the expulsion of the alien intruder, and reunion in earthly existence with the priests who had preceded them to the spirit world — all to be brought about by direct supernatural interposition — the teachers have been called prophets.

"While all goes well with the tribe the religious feeling finds sufficient expression in the ordinary ritual forms of tribal usage, but when misfortune threatens the nation or the race, the larger emergency brings out the prophet, who strives to avert the disaster by moulding his people to a common purpose through insistence upon the sacred character of his message, and thus furnishes support to the chiefs in their plans for organized improvement or resistance. Thus it is found that almost every great Indian warlike combination has had its prophet messenger in the outset, and if all the facts could be known we should probably find the rule universal." [James Mooney, in *Handbook of American Indians*, II, 309.]

Chief among these prophets, or Messiahs, and the earliest of whom we have record was Popé,[1] a celebrated Tewa medicine-man, native of the pueblo of San Juan, who first appears in New Mexican history in 1675, as a leader either of some prisoners charged with witchcraft, and with killing several missionaries, or of a party that visited the Spanish governor at Sante Fé in that year demanding their release. Later making Taos the seat of his efforts, he quietly preached the doctrine of independence of Spanish authority and the restoration of the old Pueblo life, which developed into a plot to murder or drive from the country the 2400 Spanish colo-

nists and priests." He and his followers succeeded in ousting the Spaniards. "Having accomplished this much, Popé set about to realize the rest of his dream. Those who had been baptized as Christians were washed with yucca suds; the Spanish language and all baptismal names were prohibited; where not already consumed by the burning of the churches, all Christian objects were destroyed and everything done to restore the old order of things. This project of obliterating everything Spanish from the life and thought of the Indians met with the same enthusiasm as that with which the plan of revolt had been received, and for a long time Popé, dressed in ceremonial garb as he went from pueblo to pueblo, was everywhere received with honor." [Art., Popé, in *Handbook of American Indians.*]

We have another interesting Messiah in the person of "Teuskwatawa" (*Teu-skwa-ta wa, skwa te,* door, *theuni,* "to be open," "The Open Door") the famous "Shawnee Prophet," twin brother of Tecumseh, prominent in Indian and American history immediately before the War of 1812. His original name was Lalawethika, referring to a rattle or similar instrument. According to one account he was noted in his earlier years for stupidity and intoxication; but one day, while lighting his pipe in his cabin, he fell back apparently lifeless and remained in that condition until his friends had assembled for the funeral, when he revived from his trance, quieted their alarm and announced that he had been conducted to the spirit world. In November, 1805, when hardly more than thirty years of age, he called around him his tribesmen and their allies at their ancient capital of Wapakoneta, within the present limits of Ohio, and announced himself as the bearer of a new revelation from the Master of Life. "He declared that he had been taken up to the spirit world and had been permitted to lift the veil of the past and the future — had seen the misery of evil doers and learned the happiness that awaited those who followed the precepts of the Indian god. He then began an earnest exhortation, denouncing the witchcraft practices and medicine juggleries of the tribe, and solemnly warning his hearers that none who had part in such things would ever taste of

the future happiness. The firewater of the whites was poison and accursed; and those who continued its use would be tormented after death with all the pains of fire, while flames would continually issue from their mouths. This idea may have been derived from the white man's teaching or from the Indian practice of torture by fire. The young must cherish and respect the aged and infirm. All property must be in common, according to the ancient law of their ancestors. Indian women must cease to intermarry with white men; the two races were distinct and must remain so. The white man's dress, with his flint and steel, must be discarded for the old-time buckskin and the fire-stick. More than this, every tool and every custom derived from the whites must be put away, and the Indians must return to the methods the Master of Life had taught them. When they should do all this, he promised that they would be again taken into divine favor, and find the happiness which their fathers had known before the coming of the whites. Finally, in proof of his divine mission, he announced that he had received power to cure all diseases and to arrest the hand of death in sickness or on the battlefield. . . .

"Intense excitement followed the prophet's announcement of his mission, and a crusade commenced against all suspected of dealing in witchcraft. The prophet very cleverly turned the crusade against any who opposed his supernatural claims, but in this he sometimes overreached himself, and lost much of his prestige in consequence.

"He now changed his name to Teuskwa'tawa, significant of the new mode of life which he had come to point out to his people, and fixed his headquarters at Greenville, Ohio, where representatives from the various scattered tribes of the North-West gathered about him to learn the new doctrines. To establish his sacred character and to dispel the doubts of the unbelievers he continued to dream dreams and announce wonderful revelations from time to time. A miracle which finally silenced all objections was the prediction of an eclipse of the sun which took place in the summer of 1806; this was followed by his enthusiastic acceptance as a true prophet and the messenger of the Master of Life. The en-

thusiasm now spread rapidly and emissaries traveled from tribe to tribe as far as the Seminole and the Siksike, inculcating the new doctrines."

Teuskwa'tawa's success is partly attributable to the fact that he possessed a magnetic and powerful personality. [James Mooney, Ib., 729–30. He quotes in part from Drake's *Life of Tecumseh.*]

In practically all of these instances the prophet or messiah has appeared at a time of great social need. Smohalla, the Nez Percé prophet, and one of the most eminent of the North American messiahs, insisted upon the helplessness of his tribe before the encroachments of the whites. The tribe would be exterminated, said he, unless they found assistance in a higher power. Smohalla found this higher power and obtained from it knowledge of the salvation of the Nez Percé from the white man's deteriorating influence. Should his tribesmen heed this sacred message they were promised strong and sudden help as surely as spring follows winter.

When the Kickapoo prophet, Känakük, visited General Clark to explain his mission, he began with a discourse on the origin of his divine mission and the nature of his doctrine, illustrating the subject by means of a peculiar diagram, and closing with an earnest appeal that his people might remain undisturbed. The words in which he couched his message show the nature of the circumstances that called forth the divine revelation.

" My father," said Känakük, in addressing General Clark, " the Great Spirit appeared to me; he saw my heart was in sorrow about our land; he told me not to give up the business, but go to my Great Father and he would listen to me. My father, when I talked to the Great Spirit, I saw the chiefs holding the land fast. He told me the life of our children was short and that the earth would sink. My father, you call all the Redskins your children. When we have children, we treat them well. That is the reason I make this long talk to get you to take pity on us and let us remain where we are. When I saw the Great Spirit, he told me to throw all our bad acts away. We did so. Some of our chiefs said the land belonged to us, the Kickapoos. But this

is not what the Great Spirit told me — the lands belong to him. The Great Spirit told me that no people owned the lands — that all was his, and not to forget to tell the white people that when we went into council. When I told the Great Spirit, he told me, Mention all this to your Great Father, He will take pity on your situation and let you remain on the lands where you are for some years, when you will be able to get through all the bad places . . . and where you will get to a clear piece of land where you will all live happy. When I talked to the Great Spirit, he told me to make my warriors throw their tomahawks in the bad place. I did so, and every night and morning I raise my hands to the Great Spirit and pray to him to give us success. I expect, my father, that God has put me in a good way — that our children shall see their sisters and brothers and our women see their children. They will grow up and travel and see their totems. The Great Spirit told me, 'Our old men had totems. They were good and had many totems. Now you have scarcely any. If you follow my advice, you will soon have totems again.'" [Indian Office Document.]

A ballad composed by one W. H. Prather, a colored private in the regiment that helped quell the Siouan outbreak accompanying the ghost dance religion introduced by the Paiute messiah, Wovoka, tells the story — though with more directness than poetic imagery — of the intent of this religion. The ballad, which is called *The Indian Ghost Dance and War*, and was very popular with the troops for a while, starts:

"The Red Skins left their Agency, the Soldiers left their post
All on the strength of an Indian tale about Messiah's ghost
Got up by savage chieftains to lead their tribes astray;
But Uncle Sam wouldn't have it so, for he ain't built that way.

They swore that this Messiah came to them in visions sleep,
And promised to restore their game and buffaloes a heap,
So they must start a big ghost dance, then all would join their
band,
And maybe so we lead the way into the Great Bad Land.

Chorus:
They claimed the shirt Messiah gave, no bullet could go through,
But when the Soldiers fired at them they saw this was not true,"
etc., etc.

" If we dance," said a Dakota convert, " our Good Spirit will protect us, and when all dancers are sincere, the bullets of the soldiers will harmlessly fall to the ground without power to hurt. There is no army so powerful that it can contend with Wakantanka (literally, the Most Holy), therefore we are not afraid to remain here." The Great Spirit had prepared a hole in the ground filled with hot water and fire for the reception of all white men and non-believers, and had informed a devotee that " the earth was now bad and worn out; that the Dakota needed a new dwelling place where the whites could not disturb them." [W. K. Moorehead, *Field Diary of an Archaeological Collector*, 15–19.]

In the tribes strongly entrenched, flourishing in their aboriginal vigor and feeling little need of redemption, so long as the outside pressure of civilization scarcely discommoded them, the messianic religion met with little or no success, for the favorable conditions were not present. In vain did the Paiute runners bring to the powerful Navaho the news of the near advent of the messiah and of the resurrection of the dead. To a tribe safely ensconced in the fastnesses of New Mexico and Arizona, apart from deleterious white contact, in numbers over 16,000 strong, having some 9,000 cattle, 119,000 horses, 1,600,000 sheep and goats, rich in herds and silver, the message came in vain, for they felt, in their prosperity, no especial need of a redeemer. The messengers of good tidings " preached and prophesied for a considerable time, but the Navaho were sceptical, laughed at the prophets, and paid but little attention to the prophecies. The doctrinal seed had fallen on barren ground." You cannot save a people who will not have salvation. [Mooney in Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, 809–10.]

In significant contrast with the attitude of the prosperous Navaho toward the new ghost dance religion was that of the hard-pressed Kiowa with their predisposition to accept the

new messianic religion, promising, as it did, satisfaction of long and intensely felt needs, the fulfillment of a long-delayed restoration of the more prosperous conditions which characterized this tribe prior to contact with civilization. "No tribe had made more desperate resistance to the encroachments of the whites upon their hunting grounds, and even after the failure of the last effort of the confederated tribes in 1874–5, the Kiowa were slow to accept the verdict of defeat. The result of this unsuccessful struggle was to put an end to the boundless freedom of the prairie, where they had roamed unquestioned from Dakota almost to central Mexico, and henceforth the tribes were confined within the narrow limits of reservations. Within five years the great southern buffalo herd was extinct and the Indians found themselves at once prisoners and paupers. The change was so swift and terrible in its effects that they could not believe it real and final. It seemed to them like a dream of sorrow, a supernatural cloud of darkness to punish their derelictions, but which could be lifted from them by prayer and sacrifice. Their old men told of years when the buffalo was scarce or had gone a long way off, but never since the beginning of the world of a time when there were no buffalo. The buffalo still lived beyond their horizon or in caves under the earth, and with its return would come back prosperity and freedom."

Hence, when in 1881, a young Kiowa, bearing the appellation of "Keeps-his-name-always," began to make medicine that would bring back the buffalo, setting up for this purpose a sacred tipi, in front of which he erected a pole with a buffalo skin at the top, then making for himself a priestly robe of red color, trimmed with rows of eagle feathers, his efforts were not looked upon askance by his fellow tribesmen; on the contrary, being so much in sympathy with his object and feeling so profoundly the necessity of its success, they warmly welcomed the effort and readily acknowledged his authority. "Standing in front of his tipi he called the people around him and told them that he had been commanded and empowered in a dream to bring back the buffalo, and if they observed strictly the prayers and ceremonies

which he enjoined the great herds would once more cover the prairie. His hearers believed his words, promised strict obedience, and gave freely of their blankets and other property to reward his efforts in their behalf." After about a year death terminated his prophecies and his buffalo medicine without the realization of his hopes.

But Kiowa hope was not dead. In 1887, less than a decade after the death of "Keeps-his-name-always," "In-the-middle," another prophet, revived the prophecy, "claiming to be heir to all the supernatural powers of his predecessor. He amplified the doctrine by asserting, logically enough, that as the whites were responsible for the disappearance of the buffalo, the whites themselves would be destroyed by the gods when the time was at hand for the return of the buffalo. He preached also his own invulnerability and claimed the power to kill with a look those who might offend him, as far as his glance could reach. Finally he announced that the time was at hand when the whites would be removed and the buffalo would return. He ordered all the tribe to assemble on Elk Creek, where after four days he would bring down fire from heaven which would destroy the agency, the schools, and the white race, with the Indian unbelievers all together. The faithful need not fear pursuit by the troops, for the soldiers who might follow would wither before his glance and the bullets would have no effect on the Indians. The whole Kiowa tribe caught the infection of his words. Every camp was abandoned, parents took their children from the schools, and all fled to the rendezvous on Elk Creek. Here they waited patiently for their deliverance till the predicted day came, and passed, without event, when they returned with sadness to their camp and their government rations of white man's beef. Pá-iñgya (In-the-middle) still lives, but the halo of prophecy no longer surrounds him. To account for the disappointment he claimed that his people had violated some of the ordinances and thereby postponed the destined happiness. In this way their minds were kept dwelling on the subject, and when at last the rumor of a messiah came from the north he hailed it as the fulfillment of the prediction."

In 1891, four years later, another prophet arose, a man with visions of restored tribal life and a return of the abundant supplies of buffalo. But a visit to Wovoko, the Paiute messiah of whom they had just heard, convinced him of the latter's false pretensions, a report which, with broken heart, he both sent by letter in advance and delivered later in person. An observer of the scene when the Kiowa and other tribes assembled to hear this sorrowful report describes it as "dramatic in the highest degree." "Their power, prosperity, and happiness had gone down, their race was withering away before the white man. The messiah doctrine promised a restoration of the old conditions through supernatural assistance. If this hope was without foundation, the Indian had no future and his day was forever past." [Ib., 906.]

Tavibo, the Paiute prophet, "went up alone into the mountain and there met the Great Spirit. He brought back with him no tablets of stone, but he was a messenger of good tidings to the effect that within a few moons there was to be a great upheaval or earthquake. All the improvements of the whites — all their houses, their goods, stores, etc.— would remain, but the whites would be swallowed up while the Indians would be saved and permitted to enjoy the earth and all the fullness thereof, including anything left by the wicked whites. This revelation was duly proclaimed by the prophet, and attracted a few believers, but the doubting skeptics were too many, and they ridiculed the idea that the white men would fall into holes and be swallowed up while the Indians would not. As the prophet could not enforce his belief, he went up into the mountain again and came back with a second revelation, which was that when the great disaster came, all, both the Indians and whites would be swallowed up or overwhelmed, but that at the end of three days (or a few days) the Indians would be resurrected in the flesh, and would live forever to enjoy the earth with plenty of game, fish, and pine nuts, while their enemies, the whites, would be destroyed forever. There would be a final and eternal separation between the Indians and whites.

"This revelation, which seemed more reasonable, was

rather popular for awhile, but as time wore along faith seemed to weaken and the prophet was without honor even in his own country. After much fasting and prayer, he made a third trip to the mountains, where he secured a final revelation or message to the people. The divine spirit had become so much incensed at the lack of faith in the prophecies, that it was revealed to his chosen one that those Indians who believed in the prophecy would be resurrected and be happy, but those who did not believe in it would stay in the ground and be damned forever with the whites." [1] [J. M. Lee, quoted by Mooney, 14 A. R. A. B. E., 701–2.] Here again the theme is Indian *versus* white man. The Apache medicine-man, Nak aí doklí ni, whose hey-day was in 1881, southern Arizona the field of activity, early in his career began to advertise his supernatural powers, claiming to be able to raise the dead and commune with spirits, and predicting that the whites would soon be driven from the land. The Delaware prophet brought a similar vision of help from a higher power that would drive back the English who had so extensively supplanted them on their own territory and leave the Delaware once more in command of all their lands. The Ojibway were misled by similar hopes and promises only to be left in greater destitution than before, as were, later, the Kiowa, who had been promised the return of the buffalo herds. The motive back of the great Ghost Dance religion that swept across the Plains a quarter of a century ago and roused the Sioux to their last outbreak was, at bottom, an attempt to restore the old tribal life, and, in some cases, by way of forwarding this restoration, to drive out the disturbing whites.

From the first of these messianic religions when the Tewa expelled the Spaniards, in the seventeenth century, until the Sioux were inspired by the religious fervor of a new doctrine, there has been throughout the driving force of an outside pressure. These religions of salvation have arisen

[1] Again the sad sequel: "It was not long after this that the prophet died, and the poor miserable Indians worried along for nearly two decades, eating grasshoppers, lizards, and fish and trying to be civilized until the appearance of a new prophet Quoit-tsow, who is said to be the son, either actual or spiritual of the first one."

when the tribe was hard-pressed and facing subjugation if not annihilation. The Messiah was responding to the higher law that calls upon the individual to save his group. Most of these attempts were unsuccessful. Nevertheless, if many failed and few succeeded in the attainment of their object, they at least effected that unification and solidification of the tribe which was a prerequisite to success.

The Messiah who introduced the Shaker religion among the Squaxin tribe of Puget Sound, Washington, when his soul left his body and went to heaven, was told at the threshold that he must either sojourn in hell or return to his people and teach them to live the good life. It may be that some such alternative is presented, in one guise or another, to each of these prophets in turn. It may be clear to them as to no other in the tribe that either they as members of the tribe must deteriorate with it, or there must be a complete conversion, a new attitude and new morals embodied in a genuine rejuvenescence. The Messiah is, in almost every case, a reformer, sowing the seeds of a higher ethics.

Dr. Clark Wissler has recently emphasised the fact that this outburst of religious activity in the Plains area in 1890 came in a period of great economic readjustment. "The buffalo went out by 1880 and the Indians were closely confined, supported by rations and urged to become agriculturists. In many cases these unfortunate people set doggedly at their difficult task, presenting one of the most pathetic spectacles of modern times. With this new life their social ideals and machinery were decidedly out of joint. According to the testimony of one who came to manhood during this period, many young men were so overwhelmed by the vacuity of the new life that they took to suicide or other less direct ways of throwing their lives away. In our opinion this status afforded unusual conditions for the assimilation and diffusion of new traits, and the somewhat abnormal character of the stimulus should be recognized in all theoretical discussions based upon this phenomenon." [Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, XI (1916), 869–70. For a not unsimilar

interpretation given by the present writer, see the *American Anthropologist*, December, 1915.]

A woman of the Thompson River Indian tribe who had been to the land of souls, depicted its wonders. "She appeared about 1891, and averred that by dreams and visions she was destined to be the savior of the Indians. She also claimed that she was invulnerable and could not be shot. She preached against the whites, and wanted the Indians to follow her to battle against them." The tribe, however, was not prepared for such action. "She met with so much opposition from the chiefs of the different bands, and other leading Indians who favored the whites, that she turned back on reaching Nicola Valley (British Columbia), deeming it inadvisable to go further, abandoned her project, and went home."

Here the failure is a failure of the group to respond. Another occasion might have found the group in different mood: "had she come twenty years earlier it is difficult to say what might have been the result, as even now she has more than one admirer among the upper division of the tribe." [Teit, in *Jesup Expedition Publications*, I, 366. Anthropological Publications of the American Museum of Natural History.]

Another remarkable messianic manifestation, and one apparently historically unrelated to the North American manifestations, was reported some years ago from South America. The Messiah was a medicine-man of Beckaranta, a Guiana Indian who had spent some of his youth in Georgetown, had been an interpreter to Schomburgk, and had learned a little English. "His home was in Ibirimayeng at the foot of Mt. Roraima. When about twenty-five years of age he called the Indians together about him in the valley of Kukenan, and announced himself as the Messiah. Thousands of Indians of diverse and even hostile tribes gathered there. Huts were built and presents of all sorts were brought by every family to the 'prophet'— knives, scissors, mirrors, hooks, beads, needles, etc. He had a special hut built for himself, to hide from the people; and he had, it is said, a harem consisting of the choicest girls from all the Indian tribes. He rarely showed himself and then only be-

hind a screen or masked so as to have only his eyes free. For several weeks drinking festivals and similar performances were kept up from sunset to sunrise,— the women were busy making *paiwari*, which the men drank in their hammocks. One mid-night the 'prophet,' appearing suddenly before the people, gave a long talk in which he declared that the Great Spirit, Makunaima, had spoken to him and told him that his brown children were not destined to be driven out by the whites. He went on to say that the Indians were to have firearms instead of bows and arrows, to have white girls for wives, and also to have white skins instead of brown. In order that this might be properly accomplished, they were all to die within three nights, each by the hand of another, and on the night of the next full moon the bodies of the dead would arise and come down from Mt. Roraima in their white skins to enjoy the land.

"When the Indians hesitated to begin killing one another, he clubbed some of them and broke their skulls so that they fell into the troughs in which the *paiwari* was being made. Of this liquor mixed with the blood of the dead he drank himself and gave others to drink. Then the passion of the Indians being fully aroused, intertribal hates made themselves felt, and some four hundred people of both sexes and all ages, fell victims to a bloody massacre."

The full moon and the night of resurrection came but those four hundred did not return to life. The people being disillusioned, the prophet was knocked down with a club, joined the ranks of the four hundred, and, like them, did not revive in proof of his prophecy.[1]

[Mr. S. A. Barrett has recently described what he calls "the Messiah Cult" among the Pomo Indians of California, but his description is rather that of inspired medicine-men

[1] Equally successful in leading the group captive was the Eskimo "Great Sage" who, upon a cold night, induced his barefoot followers to climb with him a mountain whence they would be taken up into heaven. With the breaking of dawn their illusion was gone, and with frostbitten feet they acknowledged their error. [See the article by the late Prof. A. F. Chamberlain, *New Religions Among the North American Indians, etc. Journal of Religious Psychology*, Jan., 1913, VI, 1–49. *Incarnation* (American) in Hastings E.R.E., VII, 184–6].

[illegible] Messiahs. See *Ceremonies of the Pomo Indians*, 440. University of California Publications in *American Archeology and Ethnology*, Vol. 12, No. 10, July 6, 1917. Prof. A. L. Kroeber assures the writer, however, that true messianic cults have flourished in California among the Pomo.]

From about 1870 to 1872, a ghost dance swept the northern part of California, coming to these tribes from the northern Paiute of Nevada, and having its origin in the same family as the later ghost dance already described. The ideas of the two movements were essentially identical. Is it not curious, then, that this first movement succeeded notably in California and failed conspicuously everywhere else, whereas in the later movement of 1889 or 1890 there was conspicuous success elsewhere and as notable failure in the self-same California area? In answering this question Dr. Kroeber suggests: "That the Californians remained impassive toward the second wave, is intelligible on the ground of immunity acquired by having passed through the first. But that a religion which showed its inherent potentiality by spreading to wholly foreign tribes, should in 1870 have been unable to make any eastward progress and in 1890 sweep like wild fire more than a thousand miles to the east, is remarkable. The only explanation seems to be that the bulk of the Indian tribes in the United States in 1870 had not been reduced to the necessary condition of cultural decay for a revivalistic influence to impress them. In other words, the native civilization of northern California appears to have suffered as great a disintegration by 1870, twenty or twenty-five years after its first serious contact with the whites, as the average tribe of the central United States had undergone by 1890, or from fifty years to a century after similar contact began. As regards the Plains tribes, among whom the second ghost dance reached its culmination, the destruction of the buffalo may be ascribed the same influence in the breaking up of their old life, as the sudden overwhelming swamping of the natives by the California gold seekers. In each case an interval of from ten to twenty years elapsed from the dealing of the substantial death blow to the native civilization, until the realization of the change was sufficiently

profound to provide a fruitful soil for a doctrine of restoration.

"Individual tribes," continues Dr. Kroeber, "had of course been subject to quite various fortunes at the hands of the whites when either ghost dance reached them. But it is also known that they accorded the movement many locally diverse receptions. Some threw themselves into it with an almost unlimited enthusiasm of hope; others were only slightly touched or remained aloof. This is very clear from Mooney's classical account of the greater ghost dance, and it can be conjectured that an intensive study would reveal the skeptical or negative tribes to have been so situated that their old life did not yet appear to themselves as irrevocably gone, or as so thoroughly subject to the influences of Caucasian civilization that they had accepted the change as final. Then, too, it must be remembered that the wave, as it spread, developed a certain psychological momentum of its own, so that tribes which, if left to themselves or restricted to direct intercourse with the originators of the movement, might have remained passive, were infected by the frenzy of differently circumstanced tribes with whom they were in affiliation."

In view of the correlations pointed out in preceding accounts of messianic manifestations, especial interest attaches to the further observation, that, "These phenomena can be traced in the history of the California ghost dance, imperfect as our information concerning it is. The Karok and Tolowa seem to have thrown themselves into the cult with greater abandonment than the Yurok. The Hupa, at least to all intents, refused to participate. This is perhaps to be ascribed to the fact that they were the only tribe in the region leading a stable and regulated reservation life. But it is not clear whether this circumstance had already led them to a conscious though reluctant acceptance of the new order of things, or whether some other specific cause must be sought." [Information furnished by Prof. A. L. Kroeber from advance pages of his *Handbook of the California Indians*, which will soon be published by the American Bureau of Ethnology, Washington, D. C.]

About the middle of the nineteenth century, a Venezuelan

Indian, by the name of Venancio, proclaimed himself the Messiah, the second Christ and the messenger of the Creator. "Venancio used to have his adherents beaten. The people gathered about him to take part in the drinking, wild dances and other excesses, and gradually a large number of the Indians became his disciples and joined him in his mad actions. The disturbances increased until a young officer with a number of soldiers was sent to the village. He drove away the 'Messiah' and his followers, not without cruelty and the destruction of a number of the villages, where the inhabitants had accepted the new doctrine." A little later a deserter bearing the name of Bazilio Melgueiro, proclaimed himself a new Christ and imitated the deeds of Venancio. [Chamberlain, op. cit., 44.]

Among the Icana Indians dwelling on the Cubate, a small tributary of the Rio Icana, lived in 1903, Anizetto, a Messiah who, a quarter of a century before, had proclaimed himself a second Christ, and had secured a large following.

In 1880 a savior appeared in the person of a medicine-man of the Arapaso, a tribe of Betoyan stock, living on the central Caiary-Uaupes. "He called himself Vicente Christo and carried on dialogues with the spirits of the dead, and with 'Tupana,' the God of the Christians. He and his followers danced around the cross. He asserted that he was the representative of Tupana and the father of the missionaries, whom God, first at his request, had sent to the Caiary. Through the power of his personality, he carried away the minds of the Indians all along the river and had a great reputation. Soon, however, he misused his power. He bade his followers drive away all the whites, since they deceived the Indians. The people on the Rio Negro were alarmed and feared a rising of the Indians. So a number of valiant rubber-gatherers seized the 'Messiah,' gave him a good beating, and kept him in prison a few days at Barcellos. This caused his authority and his power to dwindle, and his adherents fell away. But even to-day Christo has imitators on the Caiary." [Koch-Grünberg, *Zwei Yahre unter den Indianern. Reisen in Nordwest-Brazilien, 1903–1905*, I, 40. Berlin, 1909–10.]

Koch-Grünberg, from whom the above account is quoted, marvels that this messianic movement should break out again in the same restricted region, the region occupied by the Arawakan tribes. The marvel, if there is one, is that it should occur at all in this region. Once initiated, followers will find it easy to imitate by treading the path of the originator. By the criteria which we have applied, the criteria of opression and of endeavor to effect political or social redemption, this area is of the entire South American continent the one most suited for the appearance of the messianic faith. In view of the large number of favorable conditions with which it is there correlated we can not view its presence or its persistence in this area as merely fortuitous. It is in some sense the outcome of those conditions where it finds fertile soil. It rose in response to a need and it reappeared in response to similar needs still unfulfilled. The entire situation is too thoroughly consonant with conditions favorable to the appearance of Messiahs in other portions of the world to admit of any other interpretation than that here, too, we have an example of the law that calls upon the individual to save his group.

Major Tarbell reports a Messiah among the Moros, of the island of Mindanao, Philippines, who claimed to be Jesus Christ. He was accompanied by an older man claiming to be God himself. One of the miracles they performed for the conversion of the incredulous was the breaking of what appeared to be a solid iron bar, but was found by Major Tarbell to have been soldered. For a while they had the following of almost the entire tribe. A Messiah is introduced by C. E. Kilbourne, in his book, *An Army Boy in the Philippines*, and there seems ample foundation in fact for this introduction. The Bontoc Igorot still look for the return of the culture hero, Lumawig, who will restore the old tribal order of things. [Jenks, *The Bontoc Igorot*. Manila, 1895.]

Rätzel tells us that as an independent offshoot of Christianity, in Upolu, Siovedi, a native of Savaii, founded the "gimblet-religion." Professing to converse with God and to work miracles, he enjoined a mutual confession of sins in cases of sickness; and his divine service was rendered spe-

cially impressive by the discharge of firearms. Also in Samoa, a native, who taught the invocation of the God of the Heaven, brought with him on his return from the whale-fishery an old woman who used to " touch " for diseases from behind a curtain, alleging that Christ resided within her. [*The History of Mankind*, I, 190–1. London, 1896. Translated by A. J. Butler.]

According to Mr. D. Jenness, a Messiah appeared among the Hau Haus of New Zealand about 1880, and, in 1912 one among the Papuans of New Guinea, near the German boundary. [Mr. Jenness wrote me this information Jan. 6, 1918, from a dug-out " Somewhere in France," and was not able to cite the references.]

There are probably few other cases reported from Oceania; and there can be no doubt that nowhere in savagery have Messiahs flourished so abundantly as in the Americas.

CHAPTER VI

THE MESSIANIC IDEA IN CHRISTIANITY

WE have given an account of the life of the Messianic idea in Judaism after the time of Christ. In the following pages we wish to point out something of its development in Christianity during these same centuries. The movements to which we refer are almost exclusively extra-theological but not entirely so. In some cases the ideas are a blend of elements taken in part from Judaism and in part from Christianity. This applies especially to the sect which we shall first describe, and which was one of the earliest of them, namely,

The Ebionites

This sect arose in Judaeo-Christian circles in the early centuries A. D. Its members regarded Christ as a revived Moses. At basis it was an attempt to combine what was characteristic of Judaism with a faith in Jesus as the Messiah. Cerinthus, one of the leading Ebionite scholars, rejected the preexistence of Christ and taught the millennial reign of the Messiah in Jerusalem, [Ebionism, in Hastings' E.R.E., V, 139–45. Sec. on Ebionites, in Ib., VII, 533. Eschatology, Ib., V, 388.] whither he would return to triumph over anti-Christ. [Ebionites in Catholic Ency., V, 243, and in Ency. Britt., VIII, 842; Clementine Literature, in Ency. Britt., VI, 492. Ebionism, Dict. of Apostolic Church, I, 139–40.] Similarly, Justin (Dial., 80) believed that the seat of the Messiah's kingdom would be a restored Jerusalem, where all believers, together with the patriarchs and the prophets, would enjoy happiness for over one thousand years. [Millennium, Ency. Bibl., III, 3097.]

Elkesaites

The Elkesaites, or Elchasaites, a branch of the Ebionites, was a Jewish-Christian sect which arose in Palestine, or east of the Jordan, about 100 A. D. In their later development they promulgated the doctrine that Christ had appeared often in the course of the world's history. He was fashioned in Paradise as Adam and since that time has appeared often in the guise of various personalities, or as a phantom. Although Jesus of Nazareth was one of the incarnations of the Christ, Elkesai, the founder of the sect, was as truly an incarnation, the latest and most notable manifestation of the great being. Though Elkesai himself made no such claims — they would have been inconsistent with his declaration that the Son of God had appeared to him in a form of enormous proportions — his followers bestowed this doubtful honor upon him. [They described Christ as an angel ninety-six miles high, accompanied by a female angel of the same stature. He was of human parentage and had appeared after his incarnation as Jesus of Nazareth. Ebionites, in Ency. Britt., VIII, 842. Elcesaites, in Cath. Ency., V, 372. Elkesaites, in Hastings' E.R.E., V, 262–9. Cerinthus, Cerinthians, Ib., III, 318–20. Cerinthus (last quarter of the first century A. D.) looked upon Jesus as a mere incarnation of the Christ. Cerinthus, Dict. of the Apostolic Church, I, 172. J. F. Hurst, *History of the Christian Church*, I, 207–13, 320, 431. New York, 1897. W. Moeller, *History of the Christian Church* A. D. *1–600*, p. 99–103. London, 1912.]

Mandaeans

The Mandaeans, another early Judeo-Christian sect, regarded Christ as the leader and chief of evil spirits who had led mankind astray. They describe him as posing as a wonder-worker and as being defeated by one who performs still greater miracles. They picture a restoration or millennium preceded by an anti-Christ. Two hundred and forty years after the appearance of this false Messiah there came to the world, say their holy books, sixty thousand saints out of Pharaoh's world to take the place of the Mandaeans who

had been extirpated — though the anti-Christ had been crucified. [Mandaeans, in Ency. Britt., XVII, 556. Hastings' E.R.E., VIII, 383–384. New Inter. Ency., XIV.]

Euchites

The Euchites, a sect sprung from Syrian Monachism, which flourished from the middle of the fourth century until the sixth century, believed in the liberal effulgence of the divine spirit; so much so, that "if an angel, a patriarch, a prophet, or Christ Himself is named to him, he will reply in each case: 'That am I myself.'" [Euchites, in Hastings' E.R.E., V, 571.] Thus, the Euchite claimed to be not only a representative, but Christ himself. The intensity of his prayer brought him into immediate community with the Godhead, which then took up its residence within him. [Messalians, in Catholic Encyclopaedia.] This may be considered a variation of the belief entertained by the Eucharists to the effect that the leadership of the Messianic ecclesia in Judaea was, after the death of Jesus, assigned to his brother James, and, after him, for several generations, to the oldest living representative of his family. [Eucharist, in Ency. Britt., IX, 876.]

Marcionism

The founder of Marcionism came to Rome about 140 A. D. He gave currency to the belief that there were two Christs. The Christ referred to in the Old Testament prophecies would appear later as the messenger of the Old Testament God, and in the manner therein depicted. [Marcionism, in Hastings' E.R.E., VIII, 407.] Christ was not the Son of the God of the Hebrews, but of the good God, not to be identified with the God of the Covenant. They admitted that the Jewish Messiah was yet to come and would found a millennial kingdom on earth. [Marcionites, Cath. Ency., IX, 645–9. Marcion and the Marcionite Churches, Ency. Britt., XVII, 691–3.]

Montanism

About the beginning of the second century A. D. Montanus began in the Syrian village of Ardaban, probably not far

from Philadelphia, his prophecies of the coming of Christ, whose advent was placed at Pepuza, west of Eumenia, in the near future. Here, in the place which he renamed Jerusalem, collected his adherents from all quarters. [Montanism (by H. J. Lawlor), in Hastings' E.R.E., VIII, 823–31. Eschatology, Ib., V, 388 (by J. A. MacCulloch). Sec. on Montanism and Monarchianism, in art., Heresy (Christian), Ib., VI, 616. J. F. Hurst, I, 233–40, 290 et al.]

In the days of Julius Africanus, as still earlier in the time of Irenaeus, the Messiah was expected in the seventh millennium, that is, the sabbath millennium. Later it was argued that the coming of the Messiah would be in the middle of the sixth day, meaning, 5500 years after the creation. [Irenaeus, V, 28, 3. Hastings' E.R.E., III, 605.]

The terrible social evils following upon the civil war, brought on by the double election of Emperors in the fourteenth century, the dreadful signs of the Divine wrath exhibited by the "Black Death," made of the sect known as "Friends of God," seers and prophets of the Second Coming, or the End. [Friends of God, Hastings' E.R.E., VI, 139.]

Among the Taborites, prophets appeared who foretold the speedy end of the age, and incited to war in order to clear the way for the reign of Christ. This intensified the resolve of the authorities to nip all such movements in the bud, and they burned Hans Böhm, who, in A. D. 1476 claimed a commission from the Virgin Mary. In 1616 appeared a work entitled *A Demonstration of the Coming of Christ*, attributed, falsely, to Basil, bishop of Seleucia in the fifth century.

Anabaptists

In 1531 Melchior Hoffmann suspended baptism for two years, intimating that the Lord would then come to assume the reigns of government at Strassburg, and usher in an era of peace and rest for all the oppressed. "The effect was magical, the religious and social excitement intense. In order to be present in Strassburg when the Lord came, he quietly returned to Strassburg early in 1533." Though he

was thrown into prison and kept there until his death ten years later, his doctrine bore bloody fruit in the country to the north. Toward the end of 1533 a horde of excited Anabaptists poured into the city of Münster, in Westphalia, believing that the hour for setting up Christ's kingdom at Münster as the New Jerusalem, had arrived. "Jan Matthys, a baker of Haarlem, a disciple of Hoffman, inspired with a fanatical hatred of the upper classes, now proclaimed himself the promised prophet Enoch, and ordered the resumption of baptism as a final preparation for the coming King. In a short time thousands were baptised. In January, 1534, two of his missionaries entered Münster, where they baptised Rothmann and other leaders, and announced the setting up of the earthly kingdom, in which there should be no magistracy, no law, no marriage, and no private property. Soon John of Leyden, a gifted young man of twenty-five years, appeared and took over the leadership of the new theocracy. Catholics and Lutherans fled, and the city fell completely into the hands of these fanatical Anabaptists. Matthys now declared Münster to be the New Jerusalem, and invited all the oppressed Anabaptists thither. Thousands of deluded and persecuted people sought to reach this place of safety and happiness, only to be destroyed on the way or ruined at last in the city. The city was soon beseiged by the forces of the bishop, assisted by neighboring princes, while within its walls murder, polygamy, and crime ran riot. After more than a year of ever increasing shame, the terrible orgy ended in massacre and cruel torture in 1535."

According to another account this Matthys, or Matthieson, declared himself a second Gideon, and issued forth to vanquish the enemy, he and all of his party being killed in the affray. His place as leader was then taken by Bockhold, better known as John of Leiden, who declared himself the true successor of David, claiming royal honors and absolute power in the new Zion. Visions from heaven conferred upon him extraordinary powers. Under this sanction he legalized polygamy and himself took four wives, one of whom he brutally beheaded with his own hands in the market place. Soon, however, perished by the sword he who had taken the

sword, " whose fatal doctrine was that the time of enduring oppression had passed away, that the sword must be drawn, and that the true believers were summoned to subjugate the kingdoms of the world, and especially Münster." [Enthusiasts (Religious), and Anabaptism, in Hastings' E.R.E., V, and I, resp. Also Mennonites, Ib., VIII. Anabaptists, in Ency. Britt.]

The early Anabaptists invariably regarded any religious reform as involving social amelioration, the socialism of the sixteenth century being largely Anabaptist. Thomas Münzer had believed in the use of the sword, and his powerful personality had given the whole movement in Germany a fanatical and dangerous chiliastic bent, which brought ruin upon his cause. " From the belief of Hoffmann that Christ was soon to set up His Kingdom on earth and destroy the wicked, it was but a step to the effort to set up the kingdom by destroying the wicked, and we have the ' fanatical ' Anabaptists and John of Leyden's horrible ' kingdom ' at Münster as the outcome." [Hastings' E.R.E., I, 411.]

It was during the time of Luther that Thomas Münzer, a delegate from the founder of Protestantism sent to determine the legitimacy of the claims of the prophet Nicholas Storch, went to Prague and announced the dawn of the new dispensation, with the redress of all social grievances. " Returning to Saxony, he initiated a communistic system, which he declared to be Divinely ordered. Banished by Luther's influence, he spread his views in Nüremberg and Switzerland, and then returned to Mühlhausen, through the districts where the Peasants War was raging. Here he convinced them of his mission so that their social program was backed by the conviction that God was directing them through this prophet."

The movement initiated by Münzer bore further fruit in the labors of Melchior Hoffmann, a leather-dresser from Swabia who was teaching east of the Baltic. He calculated the end of the age as coming in the year 1533, though he seems to have hit upon this prior to the activity of Münzer. From Sweden he travelled through Denmark and Friesland

to Strassburg, where he arrived in 1529. He now devoted himself to an exposition of the Apocalypse, expanding the idea that the few years left were the period of the Two Witnesses. In Leonard and Ursula Jost he recognized inspired prophets, he himself becoming Elijah, the inspired interpreter. Driven out of Strassburg, he travelled through the Netherlands and Westphalia, transforming the Anabaptist movement till it was thoroughly impregnated with millennial views. He announced that Strassburg was the New Jerusalem, whence the armies of the Lord would destroy His enemies; he accordingly repaired thither to prepare for the fated day. A few weeks after his arrival in the New Jerusalem he was thrown into prison. Here he lingered several years. Since the predicted day did not arrive as scheduled, he revised his calculations from time to time, but never gave up his fundamental conviction, though he became aware of the outbreak of civil war consequent upon his teachings.

Fifth Monarchy Men

The Fifth Monarchy Men was a Puritan sect which arose in England and at first supported the government of Oliver Cromwell, in the belief that it was a preparation for the "fifth monarchy." By this they meant, following the prophecy in Daniel, the monarchy succeeding the Assyrian, Persian, Greek, and Roman, the age when Christ should reign on earth with his saints for a thousand years. They wished to abolish all existing laws and customs and substitute the code of Moses.

The Fifth Monarchy Men did not long remain faithful to Cromwell. Their revolt is described by Carlyle among the happenings of Thursday, April 9, 1657:

"The Fifth-Monarchy, headed mainly by one Venner, a Wine-Cooper, and other civic individuals of the old Feak-and-Powel species whom we have transiently seen emitting soot and fire before now, has for a long time been concocting underground; and Thurloe and his Highness [i. e., Cromwell] have had eye on it. The Fifth Monarchy has decided that it will rise this Thursday, expel carnal sovereignties;

and call on the Christian population to introduce a Reign of Christ,— which it is thought, if a beginning were once made, they will be very forward to do. Let us rendezvous on Mile-End Green this day, with sword and musket, and assured heart: perhaps General Harrison, Colonel Okey, one knows not who, will join us,— perhaps a miracle will be wrought, such as heaven might work in such a case, and the reign of Christ actually take effect.

" Alas, Heaven wrought no miracle: Heaven and his Highness sent a Troop of Horse into the Mile-End region, early in the morning; seized Venner and some twenty ringleaders, just coming for the rendezvous; seized chests of arms, many copies of a flaming Pamphlet or War-manifesto with title *A standard set up;* seized also a War-flag with Lion Couchant painted on it, Lion of the Tribe of Judah, and this motto, 'Who shall rouse him up?' . . . But in two days' time, these ancient individuals and they are all lodged in the Tower." [Thomas Carlyle, *Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches with Elucidations*, Vol. III, Pt. X, Speech IX. Albany, N. Y., 1889. The belief of the Fifth Monarchy Men that neither bullets nor steel could injure them recalls identical beliefs in North America, the Sudan, and India.]

Other Messianic Movements in England and Scotland

About 1633 Arise Evans gave warnings that the kingdom of Charles was doomed. Two years later he renewed the message, and was punished by imprisonment for his kindness. When the Civil War broke out he received a revelation to uphold the Established Church, and attacked the General Baptists. When his inspiration was challenged he offered in confirmation of it a prediction which was to be fulfilled in a week. Its success confirmed him and he was permitted to continue his admonition of the ruling powers, though these admonitions seemed to be without success.

The political turmoil of the time of Cromwell and of Charles I gave rise to numerous prophets. Among these was Anna Trapnel, who entered on her career about 1643. She is known to have joined the Allhallows church, of the Fifth-

Monarchy persuasion, in 1650. Soon after the dissolution of the Nominated Parliament, three books of her prophecies were published. Her activity was greatest during the year preceding the death of Cromwell. She went into trances, and spoke her prophecies in rude rhyme so rapidly that she could, with difficulty, be reported. She referred to herself as the poor Instrument, or the Voice. "The burden of the new teaching was the immanent return of Christ, as soon as the three and one-half times were fulfilled."

In 1770, as Ann Lee, a leader of the Shaker sect, lay in an English prison, she had a revelation in which the nature of sin and the reality of the eternal life was unfolded to her. She believed that Christ was incarnate in her. Members of the order acknowledged this claim and called her "Mother Ann." [Hastings' E.R.E., III, 782.]

Joanna Southcott, born in Devonshire, England, about 1750, founder of the sect of the Southcottians, or Southcotters, declared herself, when past sixty years of age, to be pregnant with another Messiah, one whose name was to be Shiloh. "Her followers made costly preparations for the birth of their expected prince, and had a cradle constructed at an expense of two hundred pounds (about a thousand dollars). The disease by which she was deceived terminated her death; but her deluded disciples, after having been compelled to inter her, persisted in the belief that she was to bear the Shiloh, and gave out that she would rise again with the child in her arms. Mr. Foley, rector of Old Swinford, near Stourbridge, was said to be a firm believer in the resurrection of the prophetess; and another clergyman used to go regularly to expound her writings at Bristol. The Southcotters abound principally in the northern counties. At Ashton-under-Lyne, they have a splendid temple, which cost them nine thousand pounds ($45,000). Their worship is described as awfully wild and tumultuous. The men are known by their wearing long beards and brown hats. At present [the account was written before 1880] it seems, both warning and sealing have subsided; they are waiting in awful suspense for the commencement of the thousand years' reign on the earth. Yet it is said that they do not mean that

Christ will come in person, but in spirit, and that the sealed who are dead before that time will be raised from their graves to partake of this happy state." To those who believed in her mission and who subscribed to the things revealed to her in her "Warning," Joanna gave a sealed written paper bearing her signature. This they obtained for half a crown (about sixty cents). It sealed the possessor against the day of judgment, and assured signal honor from the Messiah when he should come again. [Cyclopedia of Bib., Theol., and Eccl. Literature, IX, 896–7.]

John Barclay, the founder (in 1773) of the Bereans, a sect which originated in Edinburgh, found strong messianic leanings in the Psalms, believing that in this he was following the apostles. He translated the Psalms into English verse, bringing out, in each line, the Messianic aspiration that he believed to be hidden in it in the original. For him practically every verse was laden with a messianic message. [Bereans, in Hastings' E.R.E., II, 523.]

Edward Irving, born in Scotland in 1792, the founder of a sect named after him, published a book on *The Coming of the Messiah in Glory and Majesty*, in which he declared his ardent belief in the personal rule of Christ on earth.

The appearance of "gifts" was to be the sign of the approach of the Son of Man. The apostle was constituted for the "ingathering of the nations." Evangelists were at first sent out into the highways; apostolic journeys were undertaken in Europe and elsewhere; their object was not to propagate the gospel in the spirit and on the method of the great missionary societies, but to bear final testimony before nations and kings to the coming of the Day of the Lord. "The witnesses had no zeal for the extension of the Church, but for its preparation as a bride for her husband. If they were in a peculiar sense God's people, it was only because they were aroused, expectant, waiting for the final baptism. Their testimony given, they were content to wait in spiritual readiness for the rending of the heavens." [Irving and the Catholic Apostolic Church, Hastings' E.R.E., VII, 425.]

This Catholic Apostolic Church, as it is sometimes called, has apostles who are channels of the Holy Ghost and of

the mysteries of God. The " prophets " explain scripture and exhort to holiness. For ecclesiastical purposes the church is in twelve tribes, placed under a central episcopacy of forty-eight members, though this existed on paper, rather than in fact, as an ideal plan. The last " apostle " died on February 3, 1901. The liturgy dates from 1842 and is based on liturgies of the Anglican, Roman and Greek churches. Lights, incense, vestments, holy water, and chrism, are in constant use. The congregation is presided over by its " angel " or bishop.

In 1864 a woman in England, by the name of Mary Ann Girling, proclaimed herself the final revelation of God. Her teachings were concerned primarily with conduct, inculcating celibacy and communism. Part of her doctrine was her own immortality. Her death in 1886 ruined the cause. [Hastings' E.R.E., V, 319.]

About half a century ago James White organized The New and Latter House of Israel in Kent County, England. At Christ's reappearance 144,000 redeemed souls were to greet him and reign with him. The chief relic of these Jezreelites is an enormous unfinished building near Gillingham.

The Camisards

The Camisards, who escaped from France early in the eighteenth century and took refuge in England, where they were known as the French Prophets, prophesied and worked miracles, preached communism, and heralded the advent of a Messiah who was about to establish his kingdom with terrible consequent doom for the wicked. Even among the English they gained a considerable following, but a quietus finally had to be put on their meetings and they were brought into discredit in 1708 when they proclaimed that on May 25th of that year, one of their number, Thomas Emes, would rise from the dead. His failure to fulfil the prophecy of his co-religionists brought about the rapid decay of that sect, [Camisards, Hastings' E.R.E. New Inter. Ency., IV (1914); Catholic Ency., III.] and was largely responsible for the disappearance of the belief in a Messiah who was to

restore them to their land and their religion. [Voltaire, Siècle de Louis XIV, p. xxxvi. J. F. Hurst, II, 778–9.]

Adventists

In 1831 a certain William Miller, an American, after careful study of the Bible and especially the prophecies relating to the Messiah, decided that Christ would appear at the end of the world in clouds of glory and would rule in Canaan, on the throne of David, for a period of one thousand years. The two thousand three hundred days mentioned by the prophet Daniel he considered as meaning years. Four hundred fifty-three B. C. was the commencement of the seventy weeks preceding the first coming. Four hundred fifty-three B. C. plus two thousand three hundred years equals 1843. Hence, Christ would return in 1843. He had a number of followers.

When the prediction failed, Snow, a disciple, pointed out that Miller had made a misculculation, the proper date being October 22, 1844. As the day approached groups of followers put aside all earthly occupations and fervently awaited the expected coming. Though again doomed to disappointment they met in conference at Albany, New York, in 1845, and formulated their faith in the near coming, in the flesh, of the Son of God. Though they have since divided into six independent denominations this has remained a fundamental tenet of their creeds. [Adventists, Second, in Ency. Britt., I; in New Intern. Ency., I, 158; in Catholic Ency., I, 166. A popular work has been C. T. Russel, *The Millennial Dawn.* 2 vols. Allegheny, Pa., 1889. It is little more than a continuance of the confusion introduced by the early Christians when they mingled Biblical accounts of the second advent of Christ with the ideas of the Stoics as to a universal conflagration. See art. by Troeltsch, Histography, Hastings' E.R.E., VI, 717.]

Friends of the Temple

Similar to the Adventists are the Friends of the Temple, a sect which originated in Würtemberg in 1861, and soon

established its headquarters in Palestine. Its members expect the return of Christ in the near future. [Hastings' E.R.E., VI, 141–2.]

The Overcomers

A sect known as the Overcomers, holding views similar to the Adventists, originated in Chicago in 1881. Its members later emigrated to Jerusalem, where they prefer to be known as the American Colony in Jerusalem. They hold communistic views about property, accept the prophecies literally, and await the speedy coming of Christ. They have acquired a few converts and live a life of simple industry and charity. [See the accounts given in The New International Ency., and in The Americana. The writer had an opportunity to visit this colony a few years ago.]

The Theosophists

The most ardent believers of the present day in the return of Christ are the Theosophists, a pseudo-philosophical and religious sect that seems to flourish most extravagantly in India and, among western countries, in the State of California. Their doctrines are a mixture of vague discourses on matters passing beyond the realm of experience: of the Infinite; of mysticism; effulgences; emanations; the cosmic; essences. They discourse wordily in terms of Hindu philosophy, of rebirths, reincarnations, triumph of spirit over matter, the ascendancy of spirit. Christ, as well as all great prophets, will be reborn — has been reborn often. [See especially, the numerous books of Mrs. Annie Besant; for example, *The Changing World.* Chicago, 1910. *Esoteric Christianity.* Los Angeles, 1913. *Reincarnation.* London, 1915.]

Theosophy seems not altogether apart from political intrigues. In September, 1917, Mrs. Besant was reported to have been arrested by the British for inciting political troubles in India, where she was then travelling and lecturing. A few years ago she was said to be regarded by the English-speaking Hindus as the goddess Saraswati herself; they were ready to give her a place in their pantheon as one of the

defenders of their faith against the mighty influences of the West. [J. P. Jones, *India, Its Life and Thought*, 404–11. New York, 1908.]

About the middle of the last century George Gilfillan, a Scotchman, gave expression to his hope and expectation of the Second Coming, based on present disasters. "We expect that our increasing dangers and multiplying foes, that the thousand-fold might that seems rushing upon us, is a token that aid is coming, and that *our* Achilles shall 'no more be silent but speak out,' shall lift his 'bow, his thunder, and his almighty arm'— shall take unto him his great power and reign." [*Bards of the Bible*, 336ff. Edinburg, 1852. Parusia, in Hastings' E.R.E., IX, 636–7.]

. . . . . .

The European war has aroused hopes and expectations of the near approach of the return of the Messiah in other hearts than the Adventists. At this time (1918) the public, both lay and clerical, is more tolerant of some of these expressions than it would be in ordinary times. Scott Anderson, a lecturer and formerly a pastor in Los Angeles, California, is heralded by those who advertise his coming as one who "gives a Scriptural interpretation of the great war and describes the glory that is to follow the early inauguration of Messiah's kingdom." In an address made in Fresno, California, on July 29, 1917, he is reported as saying:

"Messiah will not compromise with satan concerning the rulership of the world, and this great tribulation (i. e., the war) is permitted for the complete overthrow of the adversary and all the evil institutions instigated by him among the children of men, and not one vestige of them will remain.

"The lease of power to the Gentile nations expired in 1914; satan is moving out and Christ is moving in — hence the great commotion incident to the transfer of world dominion. 'The kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdom of our Lord and His Christ.' As Christians our allegiance is to king Jesus.

". . . Babylon will be destroyed by the same mighty army that will overthrow the kings of the earth. Following the

great tribulation Messiah's glorious kingdom will be fully inaugurated in power and glory, the dead will be awakened and the world of mankind will be blessed." [Reported in the Fresno (California) *Republican*, July 30, 1917.]

A similar doctrine was preached in *Zeichen der Zeit*, in June, 1917. [A paper of the German Evangelical Lutheran Church, published in Brookfield, Illinois.] An article entitled "The Approaching End," points out how we know that the end of all things approaches — yea, is already at hand. There are quotations from the New Testament (especially Matth. 24:33, 2 Peter 3:3 and 4) showing that the end is to be preceded by some great catastrophe; there are signs that the reappearance of Christ is near at hand; the heavens have been witnesses (Joel 3:3–4; Luke 21:25–8), sun, moon, and stars have proclaimed the advent: "Überall Hört Man die Feierliche Warnungsbotschaft: "Der Herr kommt; das Gericht ist nahe herbeigekommen; der Tag seines Zornes ist nahe."

These are not isolated tendencies nor are they heresies. The churches have accepted this interpretation and have fanned the flames. One writer estimates that "in probably ninety per cent of the Bible summer schools, which assemble this season [1917] in numbers larger than ever, this doctrine will be openly or surreptitiously exploited. It is being taught from hundreds of pulpits, and Bible classes all over the country are led by devious windings through the sacred literature to this certain goal of the teachers' exegesis." [J. E. McAfee, in *The New Republic*, August 18, 1917, Vol. 12, No. 146, p. 72. For a discussion of the belief in the return of Christ see G. R. Noyes, *A Collection of Theological Essays*, 393–402. Boston, 1891.]

Another example may be given from the War Extra of the *Bible Students Monthly*, Vol. IX, No. 5, published in Brooklyn, N. Y., wherein we are assured that, "We are to-day in the closing hours of the period allotted by God for the selection of the Church, and 'The Kingdom of Heaven is at hand,'— now in the full sense of its establishment in the earth. The institutions of 'this present evil world' are passing away in a great Time of Trouble, and soon the Lord

will establish His Kingdom of Righteousness, which will deal out justice to all humanity." Pastor Russell, the founder of this publication, it seems, insistently pointed to the nearness of Messiah's Kingdom. "Time and again, orally and through the public press, he announced to the peoples of earth that the Age was now closing and would pass away with a great Time of Trouble, due to begin, according to Bible chronology, in 1914, and that this trouble would eventuate in the greatest revolution and most destructive anarchy the earth has ever known, to be followed immediately by the full setting up of Messiah's Kingdom of everlasting peace, which would bring blessings to all the peoples of the world — the living and the dead,"— and similar words of inspiration to console the expectant.

Reincarnations of Christ

We have already referred to some of the alleged reincarnations of Christ, and little remains to be added except a few more examples of this belief. One of these reincarnations was Savely Kapustin. This man was a Prussian officer and a Quaker, the leader of the Doukhobors, a Russian Sect of Christians which originated early in the nineteenth century. He gained such power over his fellows that he was able to proclaim himself to them as the reincarnated Christ, and to allow them to share divine honors with him. His followers, however, were forbidden to acknowledge allegiance to any earthly leader. [Doukhobors, in Hastings' E.R.E., IV, 865–7. Ency. Britt., VII, 314.] In spite of this injunction, however, they consider Christ as only a man of godlike intellect whose soul has migrated into many mortals, among whom Kolesnikov, an early sponsor, is included, along with Kapustin. [Dukhobortsy, New Inter. Ency., VII, 314.]

In Russia, beyond the Volga, Bashkin started a new faith in which he denied that Christ was equal with the Father, and that the bread and wine in the Eucharist were truly the blood and flesh of Christ. This was put down in the sixteenth century, soon after its promulgation, but was soon revived under Kosoy, a Moscovite, who declared Jesus

was not God but simply a man. He rejected the theory of Redemption, the miracles performed by icons, and declared it wrong to pray to the saints, whose relics should be buried and not indecently exposed in the churches. The prayers, fasts, and ceremonies of the Church had no higher sanction than that of human tradition. Monasticism likewise he rejected. Soon, however, Bashkin went the way of most heretics and was condemned to confinement in a monastery, from which he subsequently escaped and made his way into Lithuania. These movements can not have failed to influence the early Doukhobors. It is possible, too, that the Anabaptist and the Quaker movements paved the way to their doctrines.

Ilarion Pobirohin, a well-to-do wool dealer living in the village of Goreloe, in Tambor, upon adopting the Doukhobor faith, was not content with being a son of God, like the others, but claimed to be Christ. He immediately established a theocratic despotism, choosing twelve apostles and as many " Death-bearing Angels " appointed to punish those who relapsed from the faith after once having given it their adherence.

Adrian Pushkin, a merchant of Perm, became possessed of a craze that he was a new incarnation of Christ, and sent a paper to the Holy Synod to establish his claims. His frankness was punished with strict solitary confinement for fifteen years; he was released when a broken old man, only to die a few months afterward.

To Kapustin the Doukhobor are said to have bowed " as before the Deity." [A. Maude, *A Peculiar People: The Doukhobors*, 20, 129, 145, 152, 164, 173, 178. London, no date.] He, upon his part, " ruled like a king, or rather a prophet. He expounded the tenets of the Doukhobors in a manner to turn them to his own peculiar profit and advantage. He attached peculiar importance to the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, which was already known to them; he also taught that Christ is born again in every believer; that God is in every one, for when the Word became flesh it became this (i. e., man in the world) for all time, like everything divine. But each human soul, at least as long as the created world exists, remains a distinct individual.

Now, when God descended into the individuality of Jesus as Christ, He sought out the purest and most perfect man that ever existed, and the soul of Jesus was the purest and most perfect of all human souls. God, since the time when he first revealed himself in Jesus, has always remained in the human race, and dwells and reveals Himself in every believer. But the individual soul of Jesus, where has it been? By virtue of the law of the transmigration of souls it must necessarily have animated another human body! Jesus himself said, 'I am with you always, until the end of the world.' Thus the soul of Jesus, favored by God above all human souls, has from generation to generation continually animated new bodies; and by virtue of its higher qualities, and by the peculiar and absolute command of God, it has invariably retained a remembrance of its previous condition. Every man, therefore, in whom it resided knew that the soul of Jesus was in him. In the first centuries after Christ this was so universally acknowledged among believers, that every one recognized the new Jesus, who was the guide and ruler of Christendom, and decided all disputes respecting the faith. The Jesus thus always born again was called Pope. False Popes, however, soon obtained possession of the throne of Jesus; but the true Jesus only retained a small band of believers about him, as he predicted in the New Testament, 'Many are called, but few are chosen.' These believers are the Doukhobors, among whom Jesus constantly dwells, his soul animating one of them. 'Thus Sylvan Kolesnikof, of Nilolsk,' said Kapustin, 'whom the older among you knew, was Jesus; but now, as truly as the heaven is above me and earth under my feet, I am the true Jesus Christ your Lord!'" [Baron A. von Haxthausen, *Studien über die inneren Zustände, das Volkleben, und insbesondere die ländlichen Einrichtungen Russlands.* 3 vols. 1847–52.]

Even Leo Tolstoy referred to the religion of the Doukhobors as "the germinating of that seed sown by Christ eighteen hundred years ago: the resurrection of Christ himself," finding the realization of the Christian life in "the existence and gathering together of people who even now realize that toward which we are all striving. And behold, these people

exist!" [Vladimir Tchertkoff, *Christian Martyrdom in Russia.* London, 1897. J. W. Bienstock, *Tolstoi et les Doukhobors, Faits historiques reunis.* Paris, 1902.]

Verigin, one of the "Fasting" Doukhobors, was regarded by some of this sect as Christ, the Saviour, the "Door to the Kingdom of Heaven"; by some as a God-man or earthly Deity; by some as a Prophet; while others considered him no more than an ordinary man. A document dated July 28, 1901, declares:

"'Great is the Lord above all the nations, for his goodness and mercy endureth for ever.' And His goodness is that He has been born by the Spirit of the Most-Holy Virgin Mother of God the Queen of Heaven, one of the blessed race of Loukeriya Verigin. This Lord is our Leader, Peter Vasilyevitch Verigin. His beauty is in his Wisdom; in flesh he is pure.

"We strive towards him, esteem him God and Tsar, and with full desire yield ourselves to his power."

It has been suggested, with plausibility, that he was the Messiah whom the Canadian Pilgrims expected to meet in Winnipeg. His mother they hold in the greatest reverence, even as is befitting the mother of God. On this pilgrimage from northwest Canada to Winnipeg they had a leader who posed as a John the Baptist. Said an observer: "In front stalks the new 'John the Baptist,' his jet-black beard and long hair floating in the autumn wind. Suddenly he will stop, with eyes glaring before him, then leap forward, clutching at the air with extended, groping hands, crying, 'I see Him, I see Jesus. He is coming, He is here.' The dementia can be seen to run through the procession like a wave at these words. The chant rises higher, stronger and militant, and many of the Spirit-Wrestlers show similar symptoms of seeing Him who is invisible. All who have seen it say it is like a dreadful dream, that it is incredible, unrealizable — hundreds of men, with the light of insanity in their eyes, roaming whither and for what they know not, and animated by a belief that brings the dark ages into the dawn of the twentieth century.

"They are eating, to supplement the gifts of bread made

by the villages *en route*, dried rosebuds, herbs, leaves, grasses, in fact, almost anything vegetable in its origin. They believe there will be no winter and no cold weather, that there will be two summers this year. Mr. Speers asked 'John the Baptist,' who was one of the earliest to discard his rubbers: 'Where are your boots?'

"'Jesus had no boots,' was the answer.

"'But your feet will get cold?' protested the kindly agent.

"'Jesus keeps my feet warm,' replied the forerunner.

"Many of them walk the entire night, their bodies seeming insensible to fatigue that would kill many men. When they marched into Yorktown they bore from a dozen to twenty stretchers, improvised of poplar poles and gray blankets, on which they bore their sick and feeble folk. By the hand they led a man past fifty years of age, born blind. He is now in the Immigration Hall. I saw him an hour ago, his sightless eyes uplifted in an ecstacy of beatific vision."

Peter Verigin, the leader of the Saskatchewan Doukhobors, has merited the title of a remarkable man. "He has altered the character of the community, has changed their mode of agriculture, gradually introducing modern methods, and has built up an organization out of chaos. Several thousand acres have been broken, and the area under cultivation this year (1903) will be much greater than that sown last year. While no doubt there are in so large a body a few who look with jealousy upon Peter Verigin, the great bulk of the Doukhobors undoubtedly have implicit faith in him. From early morning, when the village is roused by the singing by a chorus which patrols the street, until evening, when the same choir sings them to sleep, the villagers find their work in common very agreeable to them." [Maude, 227–8, 235, 237, 254.]

The Khlysti (Flagellants), or Men of God

The Russian sect of the Khlysti, or Flagellants, follow a man who proclaimed in 1645: "I am the God announced by the prophets, come down on earth the second time for the

salvation of the human race, and there is no God but me." The tenet of this sect is that a succession of Christs has followed the founder of their order, elevation to this rank being attained by perfect surrender to the influence of the Spirit, who subdues the flesh. Their ecstatic methods of worship result in much prophecying, but they are forbidden to commit these to writing, and, consequently have developed no dogma. [Enthusiasts (Religious), E.R.E., V, 319.]

According to the tradition of the Khlysti, there descended in the days of Czar Alexis, in the year 1645, upon Mount Gorodin, in the district of Vladimir, in great power, on a wagon of fire surrounded by a cloud, "God the Father, accompanied by the hosts of heaven." The wagon returned to heaven but the Lord himself remained on earth and became manifest in the person of Daniel Philoppitch (spelled also, Philippon, Philipovitch, or Danelo Filopovitch). Among the twelve commandments given out by this "God the Father" the first declared: "I am the God of whom the prophets spoke. I came for the second time into the world (the first coming being at Jerusalem) to redeem the souls of men. There is no God besides me." [H. W. Williams, *Russia of the Russians*, 165 ff. New York, 1914. Khlysti, in New Inter. Ency., Vol. 13, p. 208.]

Danelo Filopovitch proclaimed himself God and delegated Ivan Souslof to be Christ, his son. He lived with a woman whom he called the Mother-of-God, or the Daughter-of-God. From among his adherents he chose twelve apostles. He collected his followers in a decrepit and empty church in the village of Rabotniki, on the Volga, and was there worshipped by them. Souslof, after handing on his authority to Loupkin, died in Moscow in 1716. Loupkin acknowledged his wife to be a Mother-of-God. With the assistance of twenty apostles he taught in Nizhni-Novgorod, Vladimir, and Yaroslaf. The government tried hard to put down the movement. Docifius, Bishop of Rostof, one of the converts, after being deprived of his bishopric, was tortured and executed in the presence of Peter the Great, by having his stomach torn to pieces with pincers in the Red Place in Moscow.

[Many of the Khlists, or Hlists, are Finns. They have

adopted many of the old communistic practices. A. Maude, op. cit., 99–103. Stepniak, *The Russian Peasantry*, 268–9. New York, 1888.]

The first accounts of this order were written in the latter part of the seventeenth century. In a trial held at Moscow between 1733–9 Prpkofi Lupkin, a soldier of the body-guard appears as "Christ," his wife and several nuns, as "Mothers of God." Moscow was the center of operations of the Christs Serge Osipov, Vasali Stepanov, and more famous than these, Andreyan Petrov, who, known as the "Happy Idiot," had the entrée to the houses of the aristocracy, and carries on his propaganda there for the sect, not entirely without success. Other communities, also, possessed "Christs" and "Mothers-of-God" at an early date. "Lupkin and Petrov belong to the seven 'Christs' named by the legend which describes the origin of the Men of God. Since the reports of the trial prove the correctness of the assertions of their tradition regarding the seven 'Christs' and the 'Mothers-of-God,' Akulina and Nastasya, the tradition may be trusted as to what it relates concerning the earlier 'Christs,' Danila Philipov and Ivan Suslov. Of these the first is said to have also ranked as 'God Zebaoth,' and to have founded the sect about the middle of the seventeenth century in the government district of Kostroma, while the second, as his disciple spread it in the Oka and Volga districts and introduced it into Moscow. Ancient songs of the Khlysti speak of one 'Christ,' Averyan, who lived in the fourteenth century, and of another, Yemelyan, who labored in Moscow in the time of Ivan the Terrible. The majority of Russian Scholars consider the sect much older than historical information reaches." [Men of God, Hastings' E.R.E., VIII, 544–6.]

The pretensions of the founder of the Khlysti sect were supported by the tradition that his commandments were issued by a son born to him fifteen years before his appearance in the world, of a woman one hundred years old. This son, Ivan Timofejen, ascended with Daniel, his father, into the heavens. Here they tarried a while; then descended Jesus the Christ, in the person of Ivan, who at once com-

menced to preach, assisted by his twelve disciples, the twelve commandments given by his father. He entered into holy matrimony with a maiden known as the Mother of God. After crucifixion and burial on a Friday, Ivan rose from the dead the following Sunday and appeared among his followers. Again he was seized by the authorities, tried, and crucified a second time, this time his skin being removed. One of his female followers then wrapped the body in a sheet, out of which a new skin formed. He again resurrected and went about preaching, later taking up his residence in Moscow, in the house later known as the New Jerusalem. [Cyclopedia of Bibl., Theol., and Eccl. Literature, V, 71.]

The Khlysti repudiate this title, which is given them by the outside world, and call themselves Lyudi bozhii, meaning, " Men of God." They believe that God is to be found only among themselves, ordinary Christian church goers being, in their view, mere worldlings. Formerly they called themselves " Christu," those who have Christ in their midst, that is, in their leaders. Among them are many Christs. They draw down the spirit by dances, by songs, and by fasts, but principally by dancing. One who succeeds in receiving the spirit in full becomes a Christ, or even a God of the highest rank, that is, a Christ of the highest rank, or, a Mother-of-God. Those who receive the Spirit in a less degree are invested with the title of one of the apostles, or of one of the ecclesiastical saints, and honored as prophets or prophetesses. For, say they, even Jesus of Nazareth became a Christ only after receiving the spirit as the sequel to baptism. These individuals have received the spirit as a permanent possession, but, by the same means, others may receive it as a temporary possession.

It must be confessed, however, that these Christs are seldom actuated by a messianic ideal. The holy spirit is regarded as a power which shuns observation, revealing himself in secret, and being averse to publicity. Consequently, if a man talks about the Spirit he loses it. Yet, sometimes the Christs, Mothers-of-God, prophets, and prophetesses especially, and also ordinary members of the community, when in the ecstatic state, break into improvised doggerel, and

prophesy the " common fate " of individual members of their sect and the " private fate " of individuals not members. Always the Spirit operates unfettered and chooses for Himself whatsoever form he cares to create. During the summer solstice they dance around a tub of water over which they see the " golden Christ " appearing in the steam that rises above the vessel.

About 1770 arose the Skoptsi, or Castrators, as a reaction to the Flagellants. It was founded by a man who declared himself God incarnate. They look ardently for the millennium. Christ will return when their numbers reach 144,000. Those who wish to enter the order must submit to castration.

There are Messiahs of every type. Not all of them are blatant in their claims, not all of them arise in a society that is hard-pressed and despondently hopeful, nor do they all seem disposed to press their claims. To illustrate this let me quote the description of a Messiah of the Pacific Coast given by Miss Janet May Bingham.

" About 1910 or 1911, a man living in Seattle, Washington, claimed to be the reincarnation of Christ. He was tall and fair with long curly hair, and did look astonishingly like pictures of Christ. As far as I know he made no particular attempt to preach a gospel or enforce recognition — he said he was Christ and let it go at that. He wandered around on crutches. He seemed to be a little lame. He had the appearance of a man just recovered from a severe illness and seemed very frail. When he met a little child he would stop, place his hand on its head and speak to it. All the children appeared to like him though they appeared to be somewhat abashed in his presence. He paid no particular attention to older children or to grown-ups. I do not think he was insane. He seemed honestly to believe he was Christ, and to try to live and act accordingly. I rather admired him — not that I ever so much as spoke to him — but he had a most beautifully serene expression that was irresistible."

Similar reincarnations strolled the streets of Berkeley, California, in the years 1915 and 1916, some as isolated

individuals, without subscribers to their claims, others with a fluctuating body of followers and admirers. [Another Messiah flourished in San Diego, California, about 1908. I have not been able to learn details about him.]

None of these seem to be the product of any peculiar social conditions — they seem rather an epiphenomenon, a flitting light rather than a torch, a vagary whose existence cannot be accounted for, or justified, by any plausible reasoning. " Sports " are not confined to the biological realm, but flourish equally well in the social, the psychic, and the religious. Such was the " Leatherwood God," a messiah who played an important rôle in the frontier portions of the state of Ohio in the fifties, first claiming miraculous powers, later claiming to be God Himself, and, to their woeful undoing, leading many of this pioneer community across the Alleghanies to the Promised Land — that is to Philadelphia, —where they were to be transported to eternal bliss.

[He met his fate by drowning in the river there — whether accidentally or deliberately is not known. A literary description, which elaborates but does not otherwise depart from the facts, is given by William Dean Howells, *The Leatherwood God.*]

The closest analogue in America to this Leatherwood God was probably John Alexander Dowie, who regarded himself as Elijah the Restorer, foretold by Malachi, by St. Peter, and by Christ himself — such were his pretensions. The next step, says his apologist, would have been to declare himself a reincarnation of the Messiah, the Son of God, which many who watched his development believed would have been the next step had not unforeseen sectarian troubles interrupted his career. He had established at Zion, near Chicago, a settlement for his followers and over it he was for some time undisputed dictator. His adherents numbered over twenty thousand, though eventually they broke away from his influence and even ousted him from the community on charges of immoral practices. [For details see Rolvix Harlan, *John Alexander Dowie and the Christian Catholic Apostolic Church in Zion.* Evansville, Wis., 1906. A dissertation at the University of Chicago. Dowie, Analyzed and

Classified, *Century Magazine*, Vol. 64, (Oct., 1902), 928–44.]

The *Book of Oahspe*, published by an American dentist, a spiritualist, about 1881, refers to Christ as a false God, Loveamong, who brought on war and later changed his name, falsely calling himself Christ. He raised up tribes of mortal warriors, who call themselves Christians, and remain warriors to this day. [Oahspe, in Hastings' E.R.E., IX, 428.]

At a convention of his denomination in 1893, the Reverend Frank W. Sanford, a Free Baptist minister, announced that he had received Divine revelations commanding him to preach to the whole world before the "coming of the end." At Shiloh, Maine, he founded the Holy Ghost and Us Society. The views of this order are pronouncedly chiliastic,— and Sanford himself is Elijah. He conducted a disastrous voyage to Africa, during which a number of his followers died from insufficient food and care, and was in consequence convicted, on December 9, 1911, of causing the death of six persons. He was sent to a government prison.

In the latter part of 1896 William S. Crowdy founded the Church of God and Saints of Christ. Crowdy had been a railway cook until he received a revelation as "a prophet of God sent to the whole world." Crowdy is believed by his followers to be in direct communication with the Deity, to utter prophecies by the will of God, and to perform miracles. On his death the prophetic office lapses until a new vision appears. [Hastings' E.R.E., V, 320.]

About 1830 there appeared in an indefinite region described as "a state bordering on Kentucky," an impostor who claimed to be the Son of God, the Savior of mankind, who had appeared on earth to call the impious and sinners to their duty. He declared that if his hearers did not mend their ways he would cause the earth to crumble beneath them. Many people, including persons of wealth and position, received the message with attention and respect. At last a German humbly besought the Messiah to explain his message in German, since many of the man's auditors did not understand English, and it was a shame that salvation should be denied them merely because of a weakness in linguistic ability. The Messiah, in reply, confessed that he

did not know German. "What," came the retort from the German, "you the Son of God and don't speak all languages, and don't even know German? Come, come, you are a knave, a hypocrite, and a madman. Bedlam is the place for you." This brought a laugh from the spectators, who then withdrew ashamed of their credulity. [J. G. Frazer, *The Magic Art*, I, 409.]

National Saviors

It has been said with much truth that when disaster is most heavy the hope of deliverance is most lively; but when prosperity smiles it is forgotten. Suffering often breeds a cheerful countenance while satisfaction makes a wry face. In a more vituperative spirit the evil of the times was not infrequently liberally wished on the evil doers. [Baring-Gould, *Origin and Development of Religious Belief*, I, 77–8. London, 1892.] The ideas in Western Europe which have, in its earlier history, fostered this faith are, in large part, common knowledge: the hope for deliverance from oppression, the gleam of a beckoning future whose content is either in the golden age of the past or in some long awaited age to come. The substance and meaning of these ideas has never been better expressed than by Baring-Gould, whose description of them we quote:

"A nation that suffers clings to the traditions of the past, and hopes for the future. The present is to it one of the bitterest sorrow and degradation; but it had a glorious past — at least it chooses to think so — and before it is a glorious future, which it is determined to look forward to. The Esthonian from the time of the German invasion lived a life of bondage under a foreign yoke, and the iron of his slavery entered into his soul. He sang: —

> In the bosom of the forest
> Where the bushes fling their shadows,
> Where the alder boughs are dripping,
> Where the birches sadly waver,
> There of mossy cairns are seven,
> Not adorned by loving fingers,

Nor by watchful eyes attended.
One contains our tears of anguish,
One contains our chains of bondage ,
One is o'er our smitten heroes,
In the fourth wails gnawing famine,
In the fifth humiliations,
In the sixth the plague is lurking,
In the seventh utter ruin.

And he told how the ancient hero Kalewipoeg sits in the realms of shadows with his fist in the rock waiting till his country is in its extremity of distress, when he will draw his hand out of the living stone, and return to earth to avenge the injuries of the Esths, and elevate the poor crushed people into a mighty power.

" The suffering Kelt has his Brian Boroimhe, or Arthur, who will come again, the first to inaugurate a Fenian Millennium, the second to regenerate Wales. Olger Dansk, iron mace in hand, waits till the time arrives when he is to start from his sleep to the assistance of the Dane against the hated Prussian. The Messiah is to come, and restore the kingdom to the Jew. Charlemagne was the Messiah of Mediaeval Teutondom. He it was who founded the great German empire, and shed over it the blaze of Christian truth and now he sleeps in the Kyffhäuserberg, seated at a stone table, waiting till German heresy has reached its climax and Germany is wasted through internal conflicts, to rush to earth once more and revive the great empire and restore the Catholic faith. The expectation of a Messiah, and of a golden age, is the child of hope, and hope is the child of oppression. The most down-trodden peoples are those which believe most intensely in a future age of triumph. What a Savior is to a weary soul, and Heaven is to a forlorn spirit that a Messiah and a future golden age are to an oppressed and suffering people.

" Greece and Rome had neither. Why? Because Greece and Rome were not under bondage. If they fabled of a golden age, that age was past; but there was none in the future. Ovid sings of the change of the ages from gold to silver, from silver to brass, and from brass to iron; but he

holds out no hope of a future renovation. Horace, with cruel acrimony, generalizes the same idea, and makes of degeneration a law: 'The age of our fathers, worse than that of our grandfathers, gave birth to us, and we, still further depraved, shall give birth to a race inferior to our own.' Tibullus joins his voice to the concert of malediction against the present age, and regrets the happy age when barbarism reigned supreme. The most eminent philosophers bowed to the traditions of the past." [Baring-Gould, *Origin and Development of Religious Belief*, I, 414–6, Ch. on The Human Ideals.]

Not until the time of Lucretius, who lived in the days of Rome's waning glory do we have a refutation of this doctrine of the golden age and an insistence that the civilization of his day had come to its own but slowly and by building upon a cruder past — in a word, by gradual evolution. [A view well expressed in Lucretius' *De Rerum Natura.*] If the messianic idea is anywhere expressed by Latin writers it is in Virgil, a poet of this age. [In his so-called Messianic Eclogue.]

The partition of Poland elicited many messianic ideals and politico-messianic movements among the Poles, who pictured the coming salvation as threefold: social, political and religious. All of them portray a time when the downtrodden nations, and especially Poland, will be free from the aggressor.

[Lutoslawski, *Le Messianisme Polonais.* Published in Atti del in Congresso Internationale di Filosofia. Bologna, 1911, p. 186–92. Poland offers a favorable soil. Georg Brandes, *Poland: A Study of the Land, People, and Literature*, 239 ff. New York, 1904. Monica Gardner, *Poland: A Study in National Idealism.* New York. No date.]

Many a national hero is but biding the day when the oppressor is driven forth from the land and he may return in power. Every Greek of the Orthodox Church knows that the priest of Hagia Sophia, or Saint Sophia, bides the day when the Turk shall be ousted from Constantinople and national ambition be fulfilled. Within its walls he remains sleeping until that happy consummation is realized. Simi-

larly, Boabdil, the last of the Moorish kings of Spain, lies spell-bound within the Alhambra in a slumber unbroken until the eve of St. John — a story familiar to lovers of Washington Irving. [*The Alhambra.*]

"I will unto the veil of Avalon, to heal me of grievous wound," were Arthur's words, neither he nor his followers believing that he was dying. Fitting is the epitaph: HIC JACET ARTHURUS, REX QUONDAM REXQUE FUTURUS, for he but sleeps in Avalon, waiting for the time when he shall wake to free Britain once more. [Geo. W. Cox, *The Mythology of the Aryan Nations*, 225–6, 139. London, 1903. John Fiske, *Myths and Myth-Makers; Old Tales and Superstitions Interpreted by Comparative Mythology*, 26, 201–2. New York, 1893. S. Baring-Gould, *Curious Myths of the Middle Ages*, 92–110. Boston, 1889. Thomas Bulfinch, *King Arthur and His Knights*, Ch. 23, Morte D'Arthur.]

In Switzerland, by the Vierwaldstättersee, three Tells are awaiting the hour when their country shall again need to be delivered from the oppressor. Charlemagne, says another tradition, is reposing in the Untersberg, sword in hand, waiting for the coming of Anti-Christ. In a lofty mountain in Thuringia the great Emperor Frederick Barbarossa slumbers, his knights around him, until the time comes for him to sally forth and raise Germany to the first rank among the nations of the world. It would be interesting to know whether recent events in that war-stricken land have revived this faith among the peasantry. Do they think he has now slept until his beard has grown thrice around the marble table on which he leans — the sign that the time of reawakening is at hand — or that the ravens circling about the Kyffhäuserberg proclaim the time not yet at hand? [Yes, says a writer in the Sunday edition of the San Francisco *Examiner*, Feb., 1917.]

According to another version Barbarossa is lying in the Untersberg near Salzburg. When the dead pear-tree which, thrice cut down, plants itself afresh, shall bud forth and blossom, the gallant Rothbart will come out into the broad daylight, hang his shield on the bright flowered bough, throw down his gauntlet as a gage to evil-doers and, aided by the

good and chivalrous few who will still be inhabitants of this bad world, will vanquish cruelty and wickedness, and realize the dream of a golden age which they have so long anticipated. [The story has been given popular expression by Margarethe Müller, *Gluck Auf*, 91–6. New York, 1901. P. V. Bacon, *German Composition*, 64. New York, 1913. An account of the expected return of Frederick Barbarossa is given by Schindler, op. cit., 21.]

The French peasantry still expect the return of Napoleon Bonaparte. Has that expectation been heightened during these horrible years of the European War when France has been fighting for her very existence?

In the mountains along the Rhone, opposite the village of Beauchastel, can be seen embodied in the contour of the granite, the features of a face, to which the name of "the lost Napoleon" has been given. [Cf. Albert Bigelow Paine, in *Saint Nicholas*, Jan., 1918, Vol. L, 215–7.] Even in Russia his advent was looked for and the belief prevailed that Napoleon had returned from St. Helena in the person of Tchichikof. [Stephen Graham, *Undiscovered Russia*, 47.] At the present time the sect known as the "Worshippers of Napoleon," who revered him as a Christ, seems to have died out. [Men of God, Hastings' E.R.E., VIII, 544–6.]

In Scotland, beneath the Eilden hills, sleeps Thomas of Erceldome. The French who were murdered in the Sicilian Vespers at Palermo still slumber till the time comes when they shall awake and avenge themselves. Reluctant, indeed, is human nature to give up hope for revenge or hope for restoration.

Ogier the Dane, a contemporary and ally of Charlemagne, took ship one night from France and was not seen again for a full hundred years. The interval was spent on a beautiful isle in the company of a lovely fairy, under whose enchantments the time passed so quickly and happily that he thought not once of his continental home. Not until the crown was playfully snatched from his head did memory return, and with it a desire to regain his old home.

When he arrived in Paris he found everything changed; Hugh Capet and not Charlemagne was on the throne. He

won fresh laurels in fighting the Moors and came back to Paris with great honors. After the death of the king he was to be wedded to the queen. On the eve of this happy consummation the jealous fairy again came to claim him for her own and transported him to Avalon. "There," concludes the story, "in company with the great King Arthur of Britain, he still lives, and when his illustrious friend shall return to resume his ancient reign he will doubtless return with him, and share his triumph." [Ogier the Dane, in Bulfinch, *Legends of Charlemagne.*]

For a long while the belief was current that Olaf Tryggvesson, or Olaf I (969–1000), king of Norway, was still alive and would return to his kingdom. He had not been drowned in the sea fight but had saved himself by diving under the keels of the enemy vessels. Like Arthur he was still dreaming away the time in Avalon waiting the day of return. "Much was hoped, supposed, spoken, but the truth was, Olaf Tryggvesson was never seen in Norseland more," is the sad plaint of an old mourning skald; while the skald of Halfred Vandreda is even more pessimistic, and declares:

> "It never was the will of fate
> That Olaf from such perilous strait
> Should 'scape with life! this truth may grieve —
> What people wish they soon believe."

[Thomas Carlyle, *The Early Kings of Norway.* Olaf, Ency. Britt., XX, 62. *Anglo-Saxon Classics,* VII, 248. New York, 1907. Another version is to the effect that Olaf made a pilgrimage to Rome and lived long as a hermit in the Holy Land. H. H. Boyeses, *Norway,* 171. New York, 1904.]

Balder, one of the sons of Woden, was to return to deliver mankind from sorrow and death. He was to return amid prodigies and the crash and decay of a wicked world, in glory and joy and a glorious kingdom would be renewed.

In Norse belief darkness heralds the dawn, destruction paves the way for reconstruction. Ragnarok is the Norse word that describes both phases of the crisis. "The growing depravity and strife in the world proclaim the approach of this great event. First there is a winter called Fimbul-

winter, during which snow will fall from the four corners of the world, the frosts will be very severe, the winds piercing, the weather tempestuous, and the sun will impart no gladness. Three such winters will pass away without being tempered by a single summer."

War and destruction will spread over the whole earth:

Brothers slay brothers;
Sisters children
Shed each other's blood.
Hard is the world;
Sensual sin grows huge.
There are sword-ages, ax-ages;
Shields are cleft in twain;
Storm-ages, murder-ages;
Till the world fall dead,
And men no longer spare
Or pity one another.

[Bulfinch, *Stories of Gods and Heroes.* Anglo-Saxon Classics, V, 722–3; XI, 323–9. New York, 1911. R. B. Anderson, *Norse Mythology*, 413–27. Chicago, 1891. The verse is from the Elder Edda. A. and E. Keary, *The Heroes of Asgard: Tales from Scandinavian Mythology*, Ch. IX. New York, 1893. The idea is probably native to Scandinavia and, in spite of the close parallel, not borrowed from Christianity.]

Roderic, or Don Rodrigo as he was known to the Spaniards, the last Gothic king of Spain, his countrymen refused to believe dead. To lend strength to their belief the manner of his death had been enveloped in mystery. After the last fatal fight with the Moors his sandals and his horse were found along the river bank, but his body, probably carried out to sea, was never found. The Goths of Spain, refusing to believe him dead, declared he would come from his resting place in some ocean isle, healed of his wounds, once more to lead the Christians against the infidels. In Spanish legend he is represented as spending the rest of his life in pious acts of penance, meanwhile being slowly devoured by snakes in punishment for the sins he had committed. At last the crime

was expiated and Don Rodrigo was permitted to go to the peaceful isle, whence his countrymen long awaited his triumphant return. [Stanley Lane-Poole, *The Story of the Moors in Spain*, 21–2. New York, 1898. H. E. Watts, *The Christian Recovery of Spain*, 19. New York, 1894.]

The story has been best told by Washington Irving in his *Legends of the Conquest of Spain* (chapter XVIII):

"A mystery has ever hung, and must ever continue to hang, over the fate of King Roderic, in that dark and doleful day of Spain. Whether he went down in the storm of battle, and atoned for his sins and errors by a patriot grave, or whether he survived to repent of them in hermit exile, must remain matter of conjecture and dispute. The learned Archbishop Rodrigo, who has recorded the events of this disastrous field, affirms that Roderick fell beneath the vengeful blade of the traitor Julian, and thus expiated with his blood his crime against the hapless Florinda, but the archbishop stands alone in his record of the fact. It seems generally admitted that Orelia, the favorite war-horse, was found entangled in a marsh on the borders of the Gaudalete, with the sandals and mantle and royal insignia of the king lying close by him. The river at this place ran broad and deep, and was encumbered with the dead bodies of warriors and steeds; it has been supposed, therefore, that he perished in the stream; but his body was not found within its waters.

"When several years had passed away, and men's minds, being restored to some degree of tranquillity, began to occupy themselves about the events of this dismal day, a rumor arose that Roderic had escaped from the carnage on the banks of the Guadalete, and was still alive. It was said, that having from a rising ground caught a view of the whole field of battle, and seen that the day was lost, and his army flying in all directions, he likewise sought his safety in flight. It is added, that the Arab horsemen, while scouring the mountains in quest of fugitives, found a shepherd arrayed in royal robes and brought him before the conqueror, believing him to be the king himself. Count Julian soon dispelled the error. On being questioned, the trembling rustic declared that while tending the sheep in the folds of the

mountains, there came a cavalier on a horse wearied and spent and ready to sink beneath the spur. That the cavalier with an authoritative voice and menacing air commanded him to exchange garments with him, and clad himself in his rude garb of sheep-skin, and took his crook and his rude scrip of provisions, and continued up the rugged defiles of the mountains leading towards Castile, until he was lost to view.

"This tradition was fondly cherished by many, who clung to the belief in the existence of their monarch as their main hope for the redemption of Spain. It was even affirmed that he had taken refuge, with many of his host, in an island of the 'Ocean sea,' from whence he might yet return once more to elevate his standard, and battle for the recovery of his throne.

"Year after year, however, elapsed, and nothing was heard of Don Roderick; yet, like Sebastian of Portugal, and Arthur of England, his name continued to be a rallying point for popular faith, and the mystery of his end to give rise to romantic fables."

In spite of the fact that Don Sebastian left the Portuguese in worse plight than he found them, his campaigns in Africa, disastrous as they were, raised hopes of great national dominion and made of him an undying hero. Consequently the belief was current that he was not dead but merely hidden and resting for the day when he should restore and recreate Portuguese prestige. So persistent was this belief and so realistic the anticipation of his return in the flesh that several pretenders claimed the honor of being the returned Don Sebastian. The most prominent of these pretenders, after a career of two years in Venice (1589–1600), fell into the hands of the Spaniards, and his dreams of reinvigorating the Portuguese nation were at an end. [See Sebastian, in New Inter. Ency. (1916), Vol. 20, p. 654. Miguel Martins D'Antas, *Les faux Don Sebastien.* Paris, 1866.]

"The lower classes of the Portuguese people refused to believe that the young king was dead, and it was not long before impostors arose, who tried to make profit out of this credulity. The history of these impostors is as curious in

its way as those of the 'False Smerdis,' the 'False Demetrius,' and the pseudo-Louis XVII's, and proves how strong a hold the memory of Don Sebastian, in spite of his being a rash and foolhardy tyrant, had taken upon the minds of the Portuguese people. The first two of these impostors, who were mockingly called the 'King of Ericeira' and the 'King of Pennamacor' from the headquarters of their operations, were Portuguese of low birth, whose risings were easily put down. The original inventor of the idea was the son of a tiler of Alcobaca, named Sebastiao Gonzales, who, after leading a profligate life, had retired to a hermitage near Pennamacor. From this retirement he emerged in July, 1584, and declared he was King Sebastian; that he had escaped after the battle of Alcacer Quibir, and had since been praying in the hermitage, but that the miseries of his people had reached his ears, and he had determined to come forth to remedy them. He was accompanied by two men, who styled themselves Dom Christovao de Tavora and the Bishop of Guarda, and began to collect money in Pennamacor and the neighborhood. The trio were speedily arrested and marched through the streets of Lisbon to show that they were impostors; and the false Sebastian was then sent to the galleys for life, and the pretended Bishop of Guarda was hanged. In the following year, one Mattheus Alvares, son of a mason at Ericeira, declared himself to be the lamented Dom Sebastian, to whom he bore a considerable personal resemblance, and solemnly promised to marry the daughter of Pedro Affonso, a rich farmer, whom he created Count of Torres Novas. His future father-in-law advanced the impostor a large sum of money, and he had raised a small corps of eight hundred fanatical followers, when the cardinal-archduke thought it necessary to send royal troops against him. The poor enthusiasts were defeated with great loss, and both the pretender and Pedro Affonso were hanged and quartered in Lisbon.

"This severe punishment effectually checked the appearance of any fresh impostors in Portugal itself, and the populace, though firmly convinced that Dom Sebastian would one day appear again, were not to be deceived by any more pre-

tenders.

"But these stories had spread far beyond the limits of Portugal, and two more attempts to impersonate the monarch were made in Spain and Italy. The first of these impostors was a handsome young man named Gabriel Espinosa, who bore a striking resemblance to the King of Portugal, and who was given out as Dom Sebastian by a Portuguese Jesuit, named Madujal, who introduced him to Donna Anna, a natural daughter of Don John of Austria, and induced her to believe in him. The whole scheme partook rather of the nature of a personal intrigue than of a political plot. Donna Anna, who was very wealthy, showered favors on the young man and his sponsor, and even advocated his claims to Philip II. The deception was, however, too obviously absurd to gain many supporters, and Espinosa and his clerical adviser were both executed in 1594. Far more curious is the story of Marco Tullio, a poor Calabrian peasant, who could not speak a word of Portuguese, but who nevertheless asserted that he was Dom Sebastian in 1603, twenty-five years after the disaster of Alcacer Quibir. His story was most carefully worked out, and his imposture ranks among the most extraordinary on record. He asserted that he was the king, and had saved his life and liberty by remaining on the battle-field among the dead bodies; that he had made his way into Portugal, and had given notice of his existence to the Cardinal-King Henry, who had sought his life; that he then returned to Africa, because he was unwilling to disturb the peace of the kingdom by a civil war, and travelled about in the garb of a penitent; that he next became a hermit in Sicily, and was on his way to Rome to declare himself to the Pope, when he was robbed by his servants, and obliged to find his way to Venice. When he told this elaborate tale at Venice, he got a few Portuguese residents there to believe in him, and was soon arrested in that city at the demand of the Spanish ambassador as an impostor and a criminal. He was several times examined, but stuck to his story so cleverly, and with such obstinacy, that the authorities, who were not sorry to embarrass the Spanish Government, refused to punish him as an impostor. The story of his claim spread so

widely abroad, that the enemies of Spain became anxious to prove it true, and to set him up as a thorn in the side of Philip III. The Prince of Orange went so far as to send Dom Christovao, son of the Prior of Crato, to request the Venetian authorities to make further inquiries; but those prudent governors only held a solemn public examination, when the Calabrian told his tale again, and then expelled him from their dominions without expressing any opinion as to its truth. From Venice he went to Padua in the disguise of a monk, and thence to Florence, where the Grand Duke of Tuscany had him arrested and given up to the Spanish Viceroy at Naples. He was imprisoned in the Castle del Ovo, publicly exposed, and sent to the galleys; and as he made adherents even there he was transferred to San Lucar, and eventually executed. The singular boldness of this imposture, and the tenacity with which the ignorant Calabrian stuck to his story, in spite of its evident falsity, make it memorable in the history of pretenders."

It is significant, too, that these pretenders appeared during " a time of unexampled disaster for the country in every quarter " when " the Portuguese, with their independence, seemed to have lost all their old courage and heroism." [H. Morse Stephens, *The Story of Portugal*, 286–90. New York, 1891.]

The Greek empire during the oppression of Islam pictured for itself an emperor of the future, who was to be one of the emperors of the past miraculously awakened from his sleep to overcome Islam and obtain dominion over the world. Everywhere this legend of a sleeping emperor and future savior is closely interwoven with the tradition that anti-Christ and oppression precedes the national triumph. In fact, throughout Europe the belief in anti-Christ was intensified by the excitement incurred by the crusades. The time came when the people saw Antichrist, or his forerunner, in every ecclesiastical, political, national, or social opponent, and " the catchword ' Anti-Christ ' sounded on all sides: in the struggle between the Emperor and the Pope, the Guelfs and Ghibellines, opposing Franciscans and the Papacy, between heretics and the Church, reformative social movements

and the ruling powers opposed to them; in sculpture and painting, in lyric, epic, and dramatic poetry the motives were supplied by the prophecy of anti-Christ." [Antichrist, in Hastings' E.R.E.; New Inter. Ency.; Cath. Ency.; Ency. Britt.]

In the thirteenth century, to the spiritual Franciscans, as well as to the short-lived sect known as Almericans, the Church was regarded as Babylon and the Pope as Antichrist. [Almericans, in Cyclopedia of Bibl., Theol. and Eccl. Literature, I, 169. Papacy, in Hastings' E.R.E., IX, 623. For a curious defence of the pope against the Antichrist charges, which the author takes as supporting his divinity, see the article on the Papacy in the Catholic Encyclopaedia. Consult, in this connection, Mommsen, *Provinces of the Roman Empire*, II, 214–5. New York, 1887; and art. Deification, in Hastings' E.R.E., IV. The Mediaeval Flagellants allied themselves with chiliastic expectations. In the early part of the fifteenth century, a certain Conrad Schmidt, one of the order of the Flagellants known as the Brethren of the Cross, gave himself out as an incarnation of Enoch, and prophesied the approaching fall of the Church of Rome. Flagellants, in Hastings' E.R.E., VI, 50.]

In Russia when the church Council in 1666 pronounced an anathema against the old faith, the Rascolniks, adherents of the old orthodoxy, announced that the reign of Antichrist had come. The date of the Council was itself confirmation of this, for it combined the apocalyptic thousand years of Satan's bondage with the "number of the beast." "The popular theologians had no doubt whatever about it, and announced, on the authority of the same book, that as the reign of Antichrist was to last over three years, the end of the world would therefore come in 1669. They fixed even the date of this portentous event. Some declared it would come about on the eve of Whitsunday, others at the same hour on the eve of Quinquagesima Sunday.

"The discovery was striking enough to stir the popular imagination, and many took the bait. When, however, the fatal nights had passed over, and the whole of 1669 with them, and yet the world was left standing pretty much as

before, the over-bold prophets had to experience the usual meed of jokes and abuses from the disappointed people. Protopop Avvacum, the most prominent of the early Rascolniks, explained, as most unsuccessful oracles are wont to do, that his prophecy about the reign of Antichrist must be taken in a spiritual sense — that Antichrist had not yet come in the flesh, but that he reigned in the spirit in the contaminated church.

"With the advent to power of Peter the Great the Rascol substituted for the spiritual Antichrist a living and strikingly concrete one in the person of the Czar himself. A sovereign who strove to deprive the men of their likeness to God by taking off their beards; who had numbered the people in defiance of a clear prohibition of the Lord; who changed the times of the years and the days of the saints (introduction of the new calendar in place of the old one, which had begun the year on the 1st of September); who had married an unchristian heathen (a Protestant, Catherine I), and had had her crowned as empress in the church; who daily committed what was regarded by the people as sacrilege — could not be other than Antichrist himself. A certain Talizin, merchant by occupation and Rascolnik by creed, was the first to formulate these views in writing. He was arrested, tortured, and condemned to be suffocated by smoke. But the idea struck root; it generated spontaneously in the minds of thousands.

"Panic-stricken by the dread of Antichrist, and driven on by the hardships of their lives, scores of thousands of the peasants and artisans of the towns fled to the Rascol settlements in search of bodily and spiritual safety." [Stepniak, *The Russian Peasantry*, 264–5, 279–81, 319.]

In 1811 the authorities discovered in the province of Tambov a sect called Stranniky, or Begumy (Wanderers), which they at once declared to be dangerous, knouting and transporting them to the Siberian mines. They had given full development to the doctrine of Antichrist, making this doctrine the key-note of their teaching.

"The Czar is in their opinion the Prophet of the Beast; the officials are his ministers; the two-headed Imperial eagle

is the seal of Antichrist, the sign of the dragon. Every one who offers any kind of homage to the agents of Antichrist, or who pays taxes for their unholy purposes, or allows himself to be numbered and registered, or accepts a passport or any other document sealed with the Imperial emblem, excludes himself from the book of the living, and is doomed to perdition as Antichrist's servant and abettor.

"They look upon their coreligionists who came to terms with the Beast with the same disgust and abhorrence as they lavish on the Niconians.

"In describing 'the renewing of Antichrist,' as the 'Wanderers' call the Emperor's coronation, their founder Efim indulges in the following details: 'Then there come to worship him,— i. e., to offer him the oath of allegiance — those fierce fiends the bishops, then the mock-popes (Satan's horses, who transport souls to hell, to their father the evil one); next follow the various foul apostatic sects — the Niconians first, then the Old Believers (Popovzy), the accursed Armenians, and the Pomorzy, who are hateful to God.'

"The faithful are warned to resist anything emanating from the Czar, and as they cannot do this successfully, that their only safety lies in flight. The most zealous of these sectarians carry out this principle to the letter. They spend their lives in wandering from place to place. They never remain for long together in the same locality, always living concealed in the houses of their hosts without the knowledge of the authorities. They pay no taxes, apply for no passports, give no bribes, and avoid all contact with the agents of Antichrist."

The belief in Antichrist is not yet a thing of the past. In a Russian village of the present day, if a baby is born of unusual appearance, it is liable to be taken for the Devil, or for Antichrist; and a stranger who can not give a satisfactory account of himself may meet with the same fate. [Stephen Graham, *Undiscovered Russia*, 47. New York, 1912.]

A prophecy of the monk Fratre Johannes, who lived about 1600, has been much quoted since our entrance into the European War. This prophecy was discovered in an old parch-

ment in the Convent of the Holy Ghost, at Wiesmar, Germany. As a key to the prophecy it has been pointed out in the press of this country that:

The Kaiser is a German Lutheran, and has a withered arm.

Germany represents the Black Eagle.

Austria, her ally, has an eagle as her insignia.

Russia represents the white eagle.

France is the Cock.

The British Empire is the Leopard.

Thus equipped it is easy to see the ease with which some Americans have applied the prophecy of Antichrist and his times to the year 1918. The prophecy declares:

" The real Antichrist will be one of the monarchs of his time, a Lutheran Protestant. He will invoke God and give himself out as his messenger or apostle.

" This prince of lies will swear by the Bible. He will represent himself as the arm of the Most High, sent to chastise corrupt peoples.

" He will have only one arm, but his innumerable armies, who will take for their device, ' God is with us,' will resemble the infernal regions.

" For a long time he will act by craft and strategy. His spies will overrun the earth, and he will be master of the secrets of the nights. He will have learned men in his pay, who will maintain and undertake to prove his celestial mission.

" A war will afford him the opportunity of throwing off the mask. It will not be in the first instance a war which he will wage against a French Monarch. But it will be one of such nature that after two weeks all will realize its universal character.

" Not only all Christians, but Mussulmans and even more distant peoples will be involved. Armies will be involved from the four quarters of the earth.

" For by the third week the angels will perceive that the man is Antichrist and that all will become his slaves if they do not overcome this conqueror.

" Antichrist will be recognized by various tokens — in special he will massacre the priests, the monks, the women, the

children and the aged. He will show no mercy, but will pass torch in hand like the barbarians, but invoking Christ.

" His words of imposture will resemble those of Christians but his vows will be like those of all the human race.

" He will have an eagle in his arms, there will also be an eagle in the arms of his Confederate. But the latter will be a Christian and will die from the Malediction of Pope Benedict, who will be elected at the beginning of the reign of the Antichrist.

" In order to conquer Antichrist, it will be necessary to kill more men than Rome ever contained. It will need the energies of all the kingdoms because the cock, the leopard, and the White Eagle will not be able to make an end of the black eagle without the aid of the prayers and vows of the human race.

" Never will humanity have been faced with such a peril, because the triumph of the Antichrist would be that of the demon, who will have taken possession of his personality.

" For it has been said that twenty centuries after the incarnation in work the beast will be incarnated in his turn and will menace the work with as many evils as the divine incarnation has brought it graces.

" Toward the year two thousand Antichrist will be made manifest. His army will surpass in numbers anything that can be imagined. There will be Christians among his cohorts and there will be Mohammedans among the defendants of the lamb as well as some heathen soldiers.

" For the first time the lamb will be red — for blood will flow in the domains of the four elephants at once.

" The black eagle will come from the land of Luther, and will make a surprise attack upon the cock.

" The white eagle will come from the north.

" The black eagle will find itself forced to let go the cock in order to fight with the eagles, whereupon the cock will have to pursue the black eagle into the land of the Antichrist to aid the white eagle.

" The battles fought up to that time will be as nothing compared to that which will take place in the Lutheran country.

" When the beast finds himself lost he will become furious.

" Men will be able to cross the rivers over the bodies of the dead.

" Antichrist will sue for peace many times, but the seven angels who march before three animals of the land will have proclaimed that victory will not be given except on conditions that Antichrist will be crushed like straw upon the threshing floor.

" The three animals will not be permitted to cease fighting so long as Antichrist has soldiers.

" It will be made manifest that the combat, which will be fought out in that part of the country in which Antichrist forges his arms is not a human conflict. The animal defenders of the lamb will exterminate the last army of Antichrist.

" Antichrist will lose his crown and will die in solitude and madness. His empire will be divided into twenty-two states but none will have any longer fortifications, armies, or ships of war.

" The white eagle, by order of Michael, will drive the Crescent out of Europe, where there will be no longer any but Christians. He will install himself at Constantinople."

[The manuscript referred to is kept in a glass case in the city of Wiesmar.]

CHAPTER VII

MESSIAHS AND MIRACLES

IAMBLICUS, it is true, indulged in laughter when asked if it were true that he sometimes floated in the air when saying his prayers; but he was a philosopher, not a messiah. During the Sabbataian craze a banker in Amsterdam who had uttered some irreverent remarks about the Messiah suddenly fell down dead. After this proof of supernatural intervention the belief of the credulous crowd in the miraculous and far-reaching power of the Messiah could never be shaken. [Schindler, 145–6.] Perhaps, as Reimarus insisted (in the first part of the eighteenth century), in Jerusalem, when all the people had been looking for a manifestation of the messiahship of Jesus, a miracle would have had a tremendous effect upon popular credence: "If only a single miracle had been publicly, convincingly, undeniably, performed by Jesus before all the people on one of the great days of the Feast, such is human nature that all the people would at once have flocked to His standard." [Schweitzer, *The Quest of the Historical Jesus*, 19. Consult this work for a detailed account of the importance assigned to miracles by various writers on the life of Christ. See also, Miracles, in Hastings' Ency. Rel. and Ethics, Vol. VIII.]

When the Hurons declared that nothing had gone right with them since the coming of the Jesuits into their midst and attributed their misfortune to the visitation of the latter, Brebeuf replied by "drawing the attention of the savages to the absurdity of their principles." That nothing had turned out well for the Hurons he did not for a moment deny. "The reason," he said, "plainly is that God is angry with your hardness of heart." At these words the malignant Huron wizard at whose bidding the council had been called and Brebeuf summoned before it, fell down dead at the feet

of the missionary. No longer was there any doubt of the sanction of his mission by a supernatural being. [Charlevoix, *Histoire de la France Nouvelle*, I, 192.]

Similarly, the Mandan chief who, thanks to the aid of arsenic borrowed from the whites, was able successfully to prophesy the exact time and suddenness of the death of his opponents, rose in the estimation of his people, as a man possessing great supernatural power. [Catlin, *Letters*, II, 117.]

Among the messianic religions that have appeared in aboriginal America the supernatural element has always been prominent. Popé, the first of these prophets, who flourished in the Pueblo region in 1680, a medicine man of the Tewa, "had come back from a pilgrimage to the far north, where he claimed to have visited the magic lagoon of Shipapu, whence his people traced their origin and to which the souls of their dead returned after leaving this life. By these ancestral spirits he had been endowed with occult powers and commanded to go back and rouse the Pueblos to concerted effort for the deliverance from the foreign yoke of the strangers. Wonderful beings were these spirit messengers. Swift as light and impalpable as thought they passed under the earth from the magic lake to the secret subterranean chamber of the oracle and stood before him in shapes of fire, and spoke, telling him to prepare the strings of yucca knots and send them with the message to all of the Pueblos far and near, so that in every village the chiefs might untie a knot from the string each day and know when they came to the last knot that then was the time to strike (their enemies the Spaniards)."

The Delaware prophet of 1762 procured his message to his people directly from the "Master of Life," whom he visited in a journey to the spirit world. "Ignorant of the way and not knowing any person, who, having been there, could direct him, he performed a mystic rite in the hope of receiving some light as to the course he should pursue. He fell into a deep sleep, in which he dreamed that it was only necessary to begin his journey and that by continuing to walk forward he would at last arrive at his destination.

"Early next morning, taking his gun, ammunition and kettle, he started off, firmly convinced that by pressing forward without discouragement he should accomplish his object. Day after day he proceeded without incident, until at sunset of the eighth day, while preparing to encamp for the night by the side of a small stream in a little opening in the forest, he noticed running out from the edge of the prairie, three wide well-trodden paths. Wondering somewhat that they should be there, he finished his temporary lodging and, lighting a fire, began to prepare his supper. While thus engaged, he observed with astonishment that the paths grew more distinct as the night grew darker. Alarmed at the strange appearance, he was about to abandon his encampment and seek another at a safer distance, when he remembered his dream and the purpose of his journey." The first path and likewise the second, proved *culs de sac*, but the third took him into the presence of the Master of Life from whom he derived the divine message that he carried to his people.

The Shawnee prophet, Teuskwatawa, i. e., "The Open Door," reinforced his supernatural knowledge by the assistance of information derived from the white man. "By some means he had learned that an eclipse of the sun was to take place in the summer of 1806. As the time drew near, he called about him the scoffers and boldly announced that on a certain day he would prove to them his supernatural authority by causing the sun to become dark. When the day and hour arrived and the earth at mid-day was enveloped in the gloom of twilight Teuskwatawa, standing in the midst of the terrified Indians pointed to the sky and cried, 'Did I not speak truth? See, the sun is dark!' There were no more doubters now. All proclaimed him a true prophet and the messenger of the Master of Life. His fame spread abroad and apostles began to carry his revelations to the remotest tribes." The prophet was held to be an incarnation of Manabozho the great "first doer" (culture hero) of the Algonquin, and his words were believed to be the direct utterances of a deity.

Smohalla gave evidence of his divine incarnation by fall-

ing into trances and lying rigid for a considerable time. "Unbelievers have experimented by sticking needles through his flesh, cutting him with knives, and otherwise testing his sensibility to pain, without provoking any responsive action. It was asserted that he was surely dead, because blood did not flow from the wounds. These trances," says Murray, who seems to have witnessed them, "always excite great interest and often alarm, as he threatens to abandon his earthly body altogether because of the disobedience of his people, and on each occasion they are in a state of suspense as to whether the Saghalee Tyec will send his soul back to earth to reoccupy his body, or will, on the contrary, abandon and leave them without his guidance. It is this going into long trances, out of which he comes as from heavy sleep and almost immediately relates his experiences in the spirit land, that gave rise to the title of 'Dreamers,' or believers in dreams, commonly given to his followers by the whites." This prophet, like the one previously described, added to the respect entertained for him by his followers, by predicting several eclipses and conveying the idea to his believers that he was able to control the elements and the heavenly bodies. He submitted to Major MacMurray an almanac of a preceding year requesting him to readjust it for eclipses, since "it did not work as it had formerly done." MacMurray's inability to repair the 1882 almanac so that it would prognosticate the eclipses for 1884 lost him much respect in the eyes of the prophet as "a wise man of the east."

Wovoka, the Paiute prophet who originated the great Ghost Dance religion of the Plains, received his principal revelation when the sun "died," that is, during an eclipse (in 1887?), when he fell asleep during the day, was transplanted to the other world, and there communed with God, receiving the message that he brought back to his people. "God gave him control over the elements so that he could make it rain or snow or be dry at will, and appointed him his deputy to take charge of affairs in the west, while 'Governor Harrison' would attend to matters in the east, and he, God, would look after the world above. He then returned to earth and began to preach, as he was directed, convincing

the people by exercising the wonderful powers that had been given him."

The failure of certain things to happen according to the prediction of the Messiah, Wovoka, in September, 1890, caused a temporary loss of faith on the part of the Cheyenne, but their faith was reinvigorated by the Shoshoni and Arapaho from Wyoming, who shortly thereafter visited them, bringing the report that "in their journey as they came over they had met a party of Indians who had been dead thirty or forty years, but had been resurrected by the messiah, and were now going about as if they had never died."

The delegates whom the Sioux sent to investigate the claims of the Paiute Messiah returned with an account of his wonderful performances. "It was claimed that he could make animals talk and distant objects appear close at hand, and that he came down from heaven in a cloud. He conjured up before their eyes a vision of the spirit world, so that when they looked they beheld an ocean, and beyond it a land upon which they saw 'all the nations of Indians coming home,' but as they looked the vision faded away, the messiah saying that the time had not yet come. Should the soldiers attempt to harm him, he said he need only stretch out his arms and his enemies would become powerless, or the ground would open and swallow them. On their way home if they should kill a buffalo they must cut off its head and tail and feet and leave them on the ground and the buffalo would come to life again." This promise was confirmed by their experience on the return trip.

Said one of these delegates: "When coming we came to a herd of buffaloes. We killed one and took everything except the four feet, head, and tail, and when we came a little ways from it there were the buffaloes come to life again and went off." Thus was the Messiah's promise fulfilled. A further promise of the Messiah had been, "I will shorten your journey when you feel tired of the long ways, if you call upon me." "This we did," said his followers, "when we were tired. The night came upon us, we stopped at a place and we called upon the Messiah to help us because we were tired of the long journey. We went to sleep and in

the morning we found ourselves at a great distance from the place where we had stopped."

[The above account is based on Mooney's study in 14 A. R. B. E., see especially pp. 659–60, 663, 674–5, 719, 771–2, 813, 819, 821, 907, 1–62.]

The Mohammedan Mahdis reveled in miracles, scarcely one of them failing to make pretence at being adept in their performance. Their claims to such power have been frequently mentioned in the accounts already given of them. Even Ibn Tumart was not free from such pretensions. To restore the faith of some who were about to desert him he bade a few of his trusty followers submit to burial with reeds provided for breathing purposes. He then called the weary ones to their graves and said he would prove to them the bliss of those who had died in his cause. To Ibn Tumart's question came answers from these buried faithful followers which left in the minds of those present no doubt of the bliss in store for them. Then, when they had gone away convinced, this heartless Mahdi, reflecting that the dead tell no tales — although they had only finished doing so — filled up the vents to the graves by lighting fires over them. Their reward was truly in the next world. [B. Meaken, *Moorish Empire*, 69.] A similar trick and similar treachery is said to have been employed by a Moorish pretender of the nineteenth century.

The condemned Hallaj is described in the oldest historical books that mention him, as a reckless and unprincipled agitator who " dabbled in alchemy and magic, and imposed on the vulgar by performing miracles which were only the tricks of a clever conjurer." [Hastings' Ency. of Religion and Ethics, VI, 481.] Rashid ad-Din Sinan, a twelfth century Mahdi, claimed to be able to answer letters that he had not read, and could hold conversations with a trunkless head. [Assassins, Hastings' E.R.E., II, 141.]

Supernaturalism has been a frequent appeal among the Jewish peoples. The prophets of the Old Testament repeatedly appealed to natural disasters as heralds of the approach of " the day of the Lord." Joel gave assurance that the " great and dreadful day " would be announced by signs in

heaven and on earth. Prophets would appear on every side; there would be rivers of blood, fire, smoke, a darkened sun, a bloody moon. The writer of Acts refers to similar omens. [Acts II, 17–21; Joel ch. I and II.] Did not Jesus also predict earthquakes, famines, pestilence in divers places, as the beginning of the birthpangs, while the immediate signs of his coming were eclipses, a darkened moon, stars falling from the sky, the air troubled, the sea roaring, the people fleeing in terror, not knowing whither they might turn to escape the overwhelming disaster? [Matt., Mark, Luke. See Prodigies and Portents in Hastings' Ency. of Rel. and Ethics, X.]

A supernatural character befits the divine ruler. Hence to assure the divine nature of the ruler, and as a logical result of his supposed divinity, his origin was attributed to some other than natural birth. "It seems to me that a hero totally unlike any other human being could not have been born without the agency of the deity," said the biographer Arrian when discussing the parentage of Alexander the Great. "He to whom the gods themselves reveal the future, who imposes their will even on kings and peoples, cannot be fashioned by the same womb which bore us ignorant men," said the Augustan writer Arellius Fuscus, in his discussion of astrologers. The wise Apollonius of Tyana, a contemporary of Christ, was traditionally believed to be a descendant of Proteus, god of Egypt. His birth was accompanied by an appropriate display of miracles: "swans sported about the mother in the meadow, and a thunderbolt descending from heaven arose aloft again, thus presaging the wonderful accomplishments by which Apollonius was to be distinguished." Son of God was an appellation frequently applied to rulers in Egypt, Babylonia, and Assyria, and in Greece and Rome to the semi-divine hero. Augustus was given the title of *Dei filius*, and many wonders preceded and followed his supernatural birth, if we are to believe Suetonius. [Articles on Incarnation, in Hastings' E.R.E., VII, 188–200.]

Theudas, who was beheaded by Cuspius Fadus in 46 A. D., and who, in the reign of Claudius, announced himself the

Messiah, did not depend upon military strength or diplomacy, but looked for a miraculous establishment by God of the Kingdom of Israel in place of the Roman empire. The fifth century enthusiast, Moses of Crete, inspired such faith in his power to divide the waters of the sea and lead the people dry-shod to the Promised Land, that his followers threw themselves off a cliff into the Mediterranean, anticipating the fulfillment of the promise. [Greenstone, 109–11.]

Bar-Cochba, the Jewish Messiah who arose in Syria about A. D. 130, puffed forth burning tow from his mouth in order to give himself the appearance of spitting fire. With his knees he cast back the huge stones thrown by the Roman siege machines. [H. Graetz, *History of the Jews*, II, 410.] The Messiah who was foretold by Moses de Leon, in the thirteenth century, was to be heralded by signs and miracles, resurrection of the dead and mutual extermination of Mahometans and Christians. [Ib., IV, 18.] Löbele Prosnitz, the Sabbataian impostor who flourished in Berlin early in the eighteenth century, gained divinity in the eyes of the credulous through dazzling letters on which alcohol and turpentine burned. [Ib., V, 219.]

The Christians, while not disputing these miracles were disposed to give them another interpretation. Thus, the attempt made by the Jews in 363, under the benignant Emperor Julian, to rebuild the temple, was, according to the Christian writers, connected with most wonderful miracles whose purpose was to warn the Jews and glorify Christ. [II, 601.]

Miracle working has been an almost invariant accompaniment of all the messianic claims and manifestations of which we have record, giving confidence to the messiah and rekindling the ardor and faith of his followers, converting the dubious, and fortifying the confident. [Miracles, Hastings' E.R.E., VIII, and sec. on Miracles and Resurrection in art., Jesus Christ, Ib., VII, 513–4, 523–4. Miracles, and Resurrection, in Dict. of Christ and the Gospels.]

Simon Magus, so called because of his practise of sorcery, or magic, who was born in Samaria, and attained fame in the first half of the first century A. D., maintained his religious

prestige by means of his magic art. His Samaritan followers recognized him as the incarnation of the Supreme Deity, and he, nothing loth to accept these honors announced himself as supremely divine: "Ego sum Dei, ego sum Speciosus, ego Paracletus, ego Omnipotens, ego omnia Dei," are words attributed to him by St. Jerome.

A statue is said to have been erected to him in Rome, dedicated to "Semoni Deo Sancto." According to one early authority, Hippolytus, he was buried alive at his own request, confident that he would rise again on the third day. Another account declares he met his death when he attempted, in proof of supernatural power, to fly, falling, in answer to the prayers of Peter, and fracturing his thigh and ankle bones; then, in despair, committing suicide.

The church fathers, from Irenaeus on, declare he was regarded by his followers as Messiah, a manifestation of the supreme deity. Some suppose him to be the Antichrist so frequently referred to in the Apocalyptic writings. [See the accounts given in art. Messiahs, False, in the Ency. Bibl., and in the Cyclopaedia of Bibl., Theol. and Eccles. Literature.]

In 1167, the same year that David Alroy proclaimed his messiahship in Fez, to the great detriment of the Jews of that place, an Arabian professed to be the Messiah, and to work miracles. He declared he was a prophet sent from God, and suggested that, to test his claims, they sever his head, assuring them that he would return to life afterward. The king applied the test, nothing loth to take the claimant at his word; resurrection did not follow.

Not long after this a Jew dwelling beyond the Euphrates called himself Messiah and drew after him a large following. As a proof of his mission he declared he had been cured of leprosy in the course of a night. He, too, perished, with consequent hard fate for his devotees.

In 1178 a false Messiah arose in Persia, seducing with miracles many of the people. In 1176 David Almasser, in Moravia, a great cabbalist, pretended he could make himself invisible. In 1199 David el-David, a man of learning, and a magician, claimed messiahship in Persia. [Ib.]

Similarly, the Antichrist is expected to perform miracles numerous and wonderful. "The Man-fiend will heal the sick, raise the dead, restore sight to the blind, hearing to the deaf, speech to the dumb; he will raise storms and calm them, will remove mountains, make trees flourish or wither at a word. He will rebuild the temple at Jerusalem, making the Holy City the capital of the world. Popular opinion added that his vast wealth would be obtained from hidden treasures, which are now being concealed by the demons for his use." [From Rabanus Maurus' work on the life of Antichrist, given by S. Baring-Gould, *Curious Myths of the Middle Ages*, 168. Boston, 1889.]

Cagliostro, the God on earth heralded by Cardinal De Rohan shortly before the French Revolution, was a worker of prodigious miracles. He made diamonds out of nothing and had unbounded wealth. On one occasion he collected his followers about him to witness the resurrection of the atheist, D'Alembert. The Encyclopedist appeared, a skeleton wrapped in a winding sheet, and assured them that there was no other world — presumably not even the one from which he had come. In 1781 he was astonishing the people of Strasburg by his cures. According to his own version he had been a friend of Abraham as well as one of the guests at the wedding in Cana, and meanwhile had discovered the art of living forever. A cardinal of the church, De Rohan, erected to him a marble bust bearing an inscription hailing him as God of the earth. [Shailer Mathews, *The French Revolution*, 49–50 New York, 1911. A short time before this, during the reign of Louis XVI, owing to the prevalence of miracles at a Jansenist's grave, the gates at the St. Meddard Cemetery were closed. Next morning over the locked gates appeared the following inscription: "By order of the king. God is hereby forbidden to work miracles in this place."]

CHAPTER VIII

THE MESSIAH AND POLITICS

Judaism

THE career of the Messiah anticipated by the Samaritan colony at Shechem, in Syria, will be one of "victory and tranquil rule, primarily religious, but with some political significance." [*Open Court*, May and September, 1907.] The messianic ideal of Israel has never lost its political tinge. It began with political aspirations foremost and they have never receded, save here and there and for a moment only, into the background. This belief we have already discussed in the chapter on the Jewish Messiah where we have shown the very large extent to which this Messiah was a savior from political oppression.

There is good reason for the political affiliation. Some kind of belief in a future of rewards and punishments seems necessary to a nation groaning under oppression. Under the most stinging wrongs they hope, and hope breeds belief in salvation. Then is the future assured. So throughout Judaism the messianic ideal, though little more than an uneasy dream of an ideal future, has brightened the existing present reality and made it tolerable. The political needs have called forth a long succession of Messiahs who, in turn, have fanned the flames and kept these needs alive. Only in the dying community of isolated Jews in China has this ideal faded from sight. [Israel Abrahams, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*, 5, 168. Philadelphia, 1911. G. Karpeles, *A Sketch of Jewish History*, 34ff. Emil Schürer, *History of the Jewish People in the Time of Christ.* Second Division, II, 128ff. New York. No date. Art., China (Jews in), Hastings' E.R.E.]

The conditions surrounding the inception of the messianic

hope have already been referred to. We may now make brief reference to the political crises which at once gave origin and impetus to this belief.

The great forward movement in the religion of Israel dates from about the middle of the eighth century B. C., a time of outward prosperity, the long Aramaen war being over, and the frontiers, thanks to Jeroboam II, rectified to the advantage of Israel. To Jahweh was given the credit for Israel's victories and the resurgent commerce which came in their train. He was duly repaid by offerings and sacrifices, though the material for them was frequently the result of extortion and robbery.

But Amos, the first of these prophets whose writings have been given the honor of a separate book, saw the threat written in the expanding power of Assyria, that wolf which was already prowling about the fold. It was this impending calamity, unforeseen by the masses, which called forth the stirring eloquence of this prophet. He demanded a new conception of Jahweh and a new ethical attitude toward him.

As the day of national reckoning approached, Hosea sought to continue the ethical reform of Amos and instil even loftier ideas of Jahweh's demands upon Israel.

Next came Isaiah, who dared to state that Assyria had been, in the hand of Jahweh, a scourge to punish Israel for her wickedness; this being accomplished, Assyrian ambition and cruelty must be punished.

About the year 626 news of the havoc which the Scythians were working in the districts north of Palestine, menacing Judah itself, caused the prophets to preach repentance in order to avert the threatened blow. It was at this crisis that Jeremiah spoke and wrought great influence in giving trend to the religious development. The prophet's activity was again aroused by the defeat of Pharaoh at the battle of Carchemish. "His earlier anticipation of Judah's ruin at the hands of a foe from the north had not been realized; the Scythians came very near but there is no evidence that they invaded Judah. Now, however, there was the prospect of the domination of a more powerful nation, namely, Chaldea. Accordingly, in the fourth year of Jehoiakim (about 604–

603 B. C.), Jeremiah directed his disciple, Baruch, to write down a number of prophecies which he had composed since the beginning of his ministry in 626, with the object of showing that the judgment then threatened had been merely postponed and not averted." The first reference to the messianic age probably dates from the period of the ruin of the kingdom which was consequent upon the capture of Zedekiah. It was in the later religious gathering at Shechem that national sentiment was greatly stimulated. [Israel, Hastings' E.R.E., VII. See Zech., iii, 8 and vi, 12.]

The second century B. C. furnishes another excellent instance of the relation between politics and religion. The Maccabaean war was, in its inception, purely a religious affair. The Jews took up arms against the Syrians to defend the Law, which had been greatly endangered by the persecutions of Antiochus IV Epiphanes. This explains the participation in the revolt of that rigidly and exclusively religious party, the Hasidaeans. When, in 165, Judas Maccabaeus purified the temple defiled by Antiochus Epiphanes, and restored the Jewish religion, the aims which inspired the war were accomplished. The treaty of Lysias (162) ensured the religious liberty of the Jews. The Hasidaeans, having attained their object, refrained from further participation in the war, the political aims being secured through the continued prosecution of the war by the Maccabaeans. [Hasidaeans, Hastings' E.R.E., VI, 526. Judaism, Ib., VII, 586–7. Israel, Ib., 456.]

Had all the Jews in later Roman days accepted one leader, instead of dissipating their energies by following now this, now that, Messiah, the political consequences might well have been very formidable. "Had the Jews under Vespasian acted with the same united energy as in the revolt under Hadrian, the struggle would have been a formidable one; and their Messiah might perhaps have been for imperial what Hannibal was for consular Rome." [J. H. Allen, op. cit., 421. As Israel Cohen (op. cit.) has conclusively shown, disintegration of the faith, separation into ever-widening sects and creeds, is breaking up the racial integrity of the Jews and making the prospect of a revived Jewish na-

tion correspondingly more remote. "Since the dawn of emancipation a change has come over Jewry."]

David el-David, the Persian Messiah who operated in the last years of the twelfth century, raised an army against the king, though he was defeated and beheaded, vast numbers of Jews suffering a similar fate for the part they had taken in the rebellion. [See art. Messiah, in Cyclopaedia of Bibl., Theol., and Eccl. Lit., Vol. VI.] As we have seen in the account given of various Jewish Messiahs, many, if not most of them, were implicated in political movements.

Mohammedanism. A: Africa and Arabia

As early as the seventh century A. D., Abd el Melik found himself involved in a war with the followers of Solman. These were under the command of a daring leader by name of Moktar who claimed to be a lieutenant of the Mahdi promised by the Prophet. The Mahdi referred to was the son of Ali by another wife than Fatima, and, at that time was living in retirement at Mecca.

Ibn Tumart, of whom an account has already been given, imbued the surrounding tribes with an intense devotion to his sanctity, while, by the compilation of several important works in their own tongue — notably the Murshidah, "Directress" or "Guide," and the Tanhid or "Unity,"— he impressed them with his learning and thus added to their admiration. At last his followers came to blows with the imperial troops, and were defeated. Later, however, having gained the support of the Masmuda tribes he came into control of affairs. He then devoted himself more than ever to the austerities of hermit life, leaving political affairs in the hands of his follower, Abd el Mumin. [B. Meaken, *Moorish Empire*, 65–70.]

The movement of revolt started among the Berber tribes of Algeria in A. D. 902 was headed by a missionary who gave himself out as forerunner of the Mahdi, promised them abundant goods of both worlds, and called them to arms. "Then there appeared among them Sa'id, the son of Ahmad, the son of Abd Allah, the son of Maymun the occulist; but

it was not under that name. He was now Ubayd Allah al-Mahdi himself, a descendant of Ali and of Muhammad ibn Isma'il, for whom his ancestors were supposed to have worked and built up this conspiracy. In A. H. 296 (A. D. 909) he was saluted as Commander of the Faithful, with the title of al-Mahdi. So far the conspiracy had succeeded." [MacDonald, *Muslim Theology*, 44–5.]

Not long since, the head of the Brotherhood of as-Sanusi, founded in 1837 by Mohammad ibn Ali as-Sanusi, established a theocratic state at Jarabub, in the eastern Sahara, between Egypt and Tripoli. It has been predicted that this order is fomenting plans which will soon take a political turn. "Sooner or later," says Mr. MacDonald, "Europe — in the first instance, England in Egypt and France in Algeria — will have to face the bursting of this storm. For this Mahdi is different from him of Khartum and the southern Sudan in that he knows how to rule and wait; for years he has gathered arms and ammunitions, and trained men for the great Jehad. When his plans are ready and his time is come, a new chapter will be opened in the history of Islam, a chapter which will cast into forgetfulness even the recent volcanic outburst in China. It will then be for the Ottoman Sultan of the time to show what he and his Khalifate are worth. He will have to decide whether he will throw in his lot with a Mahdi of the old Islam and the dreams of a Muslim millennium, or boldly turn to new things and carry the Successorship and the People of Muhammad to join the civilized world." [Op. cit., 61–3. Written in 1903. E. W. Latimer, *Europe in Africa*, 78. Africa, in Hastings' E.R.E., I, 161.]

Though this prophecy has not yet been fulfilled, it was no very rash one. Since the early centuries of Mohammedanism Berber leaders have been wont to appear in the guise and with the claims of prophets, men miraculously gifted and with a message from God. "These wild tribesmen, with all their fanaticism for their own tribal liberties, have always been peculiarly accessible to the genius which claims its mission from heaven. So they had taken up the Fatimid cause [in the fourth century A. H.] and worshipped Ubayd Allah,

the Mahdi. And so they continued thereafter, and still continue to be swayed by saints, darwishes, and prophets of all degrees of insanity and cunning. As time went on, there came a change in these prophet-led risings and saint-founded states. They gradually slipped over from being frankly anti-Muhammadan, to being equally frankly Muslim. The theology of Islam easily afforded them the necessary point of connection. All that the prophet of the day need do was to claim the position of the Mahdi, that Guided One, who according to the tradition of Muhammad was to come before the last day, when the earth shall be filled with violence, and to fill it again with righteousness. It was easy for each new Mahdi to select from the vast and contradictory mass of traditions in Muslim eschatology those which best fitted his person and his time."

The political danger in Algiers and Morocco of these Mohammedan sects with their inspired and inspiring leaders has been recognized by both French and English. The direct action of the Sanusiyah in the insurrections in Algiers seems not yet proven, but "even though no overt acts can be alleged, yet the widespread influence of their teaching and their known dislike to all modern methods of civilization have doubtless been very powerful factors in leading others on in the way of more active and pronounced opposition, and their Zawiyahs have always been open to rebellion." This is not surprising. The motto of the order is: "The Turks and the Christians are in the same category: we will destroy them both at the same time." The Sanusiyah is the most irreconcilable enemy of the French, and reflects the growing discontent in the Muslim world over the increasing occupation by Christians of lands till lately open to the followers of Islam. [Sell, *Essays on Islam*, Ch. on Religious Orders. Frisch, *Le Maroc*, 190. Castries, *L'Islam*, 238. Meakin, *The Moorish Empire*, 198. Duveyrier, *La Confrérie Musulmane*, 14. Silva White, *From Sphinx to Oracle*, 27, 124.]

In 1910 warning was again given of the danger to European interests involved in the religio-political organization of the Senoussi of North Africa. The Senoussi was a great religious chief who held court in the Hinterland of Tunis.

The slaves in particular accepted the new faith with avidity for it promised them a new dignity as well as a doorway to freedom. "If the Senoussi gave the signal, hundreds of thousands of brave swordsmen and rifle-bearers would precipitate themselves upon the Europeans and the Turks who, between them, held North Africa." [*The Spectator*, March 10, 1910.] The Moorish Pretender has indeed been just such a dangerous character as was prophesied. [He is described by A. J. Dawson, *Things Seen in Morocco*. New York, 1904.]

After Italy joined the Entente nations in May, 1915, the order assumed a more and more unfriendly attitude toward them and an increasingly friendly attitude toward their enemy Turkey. [Senussi, in New Inter. Ency. (1916), XX, 708, and in Ency. Britt., XXIV, 649–51.]

A man by the name of Mokrani, claiming to be the Mahdi, raised an insurrection in 1870. Many similar insurrections directed against the invaders, followed the French occupation of Tunisia in 1881. [*Revue Tunisienne*, IX (1902), 205.] At least one writer has recognized the political importance of Mahdiism in Abyssinia and has sounded a note of warning. [A. B. Wylde, *Modern Abyssinia*, 11, 71. London, 1901.]

The Alids inspired the people with the idea that the Mahdi would come from the house of Ali. His word was truth and to him explicit obedience was due. Further political moves linked them by still stronger bonds to the cause of the Mahdi, without whose success they could never be recompensed for the great sacrifices made to the cause. In A. H. 270, when the government attempted to apprehend a man whom they considered dangerous, a certain Abdallah ibn Maimun al-Qaddah, he escaped to Basra. There he lived for some time in hiding. Later his grandson, Ubaidallah, went to northern Syria and thence to Egypt and the far west of North Africa, where he appeared in A. H. 297 at Kairwan, as the Mahdi and first Khalifate of the Fatimids. Some separated from him, refusing to acknowledge him as the Mahdi, his political power being to that extent impaired. [Art. Carmations, in Hastings' E.R.E., III, 222–5; see above, Ch. on The Mahdi.]

"Abu-Abdallah, the son of a lamplighter in the mosque of

his native village, was a man of exceptional ability as well as of unusual training. He studied in the best schools of his day — Cordova, Bagdad, and Cairo, where he displayed great aptitude as well as great zeal. After the completion of his education he returned to his home among the tribesmen of Masmoudah in the country of Sus. His travels and his studies, directed by a keen and vigorous intellect, had given him a profound insight into human nature, while the superiority of his literary attainments obtained for him the greatest respect from the simple and ignorant shepherds among whom his lot was cast. From the day of his return, he affected an air of mystery well calculated to impose upon a credulous and highly imaginative people. He assumed the title of Al-Mahdi, or The Leader, a word synonymous with Messiah, a personage whose advent has been predicted by the founders of almost every sect of Oriental origin. He declaimed with audacity and eloquence against the sins of the degenerate Moslems. In common with all reformers whose success demands a real or apparent exhibition of sanctity, his life afforded an edifying example of self-denial and of the practice of the most austere virtue. His garments were scanty and of the coarsest materials. His sole possessions consisted of a staff and a leathern bottle. Subsisting upon alms, and sleeping in the court-yards of the mosques, where, during the day, with impassioned oratory, he exhorted the wayward to repentance, he did not remain long in solitude. Crowds gathered to participate in his devotions and to enjoy the benefit of his prayers. The erratic genius of the Berber, impressed with an exhibition so congenial with its nature and actuated by the love of novelty, soon recognized in the holy man a guide whose inspiration was directly derived from heaven. Among the first of his disciples was a youth of distinguished lineage and unusual personal attractions, named Abd-al-Mumen, whom the Mahdi, as he was now universally called, selected as his councillor, and whose talents for war and executive ability, as soon became evident, were superior to those of any individual of his time. Accompanied by a small band of followers, the Mahdi advanced by easy stages to Morocco, the depravity of whose citizens he constantly

represented as worthy of the severest punishment that could be inflicted by the wrath of an outraged Deity.

"The first public act of the Mahdi after his arrival was one whose unparalleled audacity was admirably calculated to establish the sacredness of his pretended mission as far as the most distant frontiers of the empire. On one of the Fridays of the festival of Ramadhan, a great concourse had assembled in the principal mosque of the capital to await the coming of the Sultan. Before the royal cortege appeared, an emaciated figure, meanly clad and intoning in deep and solemn accents verses from the Koran, strode through the assemblage and seated himself, without ceremony, on the throne. The remonstrances of the attendants of the mosque produced no effect on the intruder, and even at the approach of Ali himself he retained his seat, while the entire congregation rose and stood reverently in the presence of their monarch. In the mind of devout Moslems, mental eccentricity and insanity are not infrequently considered evidences of divine inspiration; the most outrageous denunciations are received with humility by the greatest potentates; and, encouraged by impunity, the dervish and the saint, sure of the toleration of the sovereign and the applause of the multitude, do not hesitate to violate every feeling of decency and reverence in the prosecution of their schemes of imposture. The existence of this superstitious prejudice prevented the molestation of the Mahdi, whose reputation had preceded him, but whose person was as yet unknown to the inhabitants of Morocco. Not content with usurping his place, the audacious reformer even ventured, in scathing terms, to reprove the Sultan in the presence of the assembly, and warned him that if he did not correct the faults of his government and the vices of his subjects he would be speedily called upon to render an account of his neglect to God. The amazement and consternation of the Prince were only exceeded by the apprehensions of the people, who awaited, with equal anxiety, the accomplishment of a miracle or the outbreak of a revolution.

"From that day the religious authority of the Mahdi was established throughout the African dominions of Ali. His

audiences were numbered by the thousands. Proselytes in vast multitudes assented to his doctrines, and his movements began to seriously occupy the attention of the government, whose officials saw with unconcealed dread his fast-increasing popularity and the effect which his harangues and his ostentatious asceticism were producing upon the capricious and easily deluded masses. He was examined by the ministers, some of whom advised his immediate execution, but, as he had hitherto confined himself to religious exhortations and had asserted no pretensions to the exercise of temporal sovereignty, the impolitic clemency of Ali, unmindful of the similar circumstances which had attended the elevation of his own family to power, dismissed, unharmed, the most dangerous enemy of his life and his throne. The lesson he had just been taught was not lost on the wary impostor, who, of all distinctions, coveted least the honors of martyrdom. He left the capital and repaired to Fez, where for a considerable period he kept himself in seclusion, but, through his devoted emissaries, still retaining and indeed increasing his influence over the ignorant populace, deeply impressed with the mystery that surrounded his movements as well as with the oracular messages with which he nourished the curiosity and stimulated the expectations of his followers. At length, without warning, he reappeared in the streets of Morocco. The enthusiastic welcome he received made it apparent that his popularity had been in no respect diminished during his absence. His insolence and his extravagance now became more offensive than ever. He denounced, in epithets conveying the greatest opprobrium, the public and private conduct of the monarch and his court. Assisted by his disciples, he seized the wine vessels in the bazaars and emptied their contents into the streets. The sight of a musical instrument roused him to fury and was the signal for its destruction, as well as for the maltreatment of its owner. His piety could not tolerate even the songs of mirth, and those who presumed to enjoy this harmless amusement in his hearing were speedily silenced with a shower of blows. The climax of impudence and outrage was attained when the Mahdi, having one day encountered in one of the public thoroughfares of the capi-

tal the sister of Ali, who, in compliance with the prevalent custom of the Moorish ladies of Africa and Spain, had discarded the veil, roundly abused her for this violation of the injunctions of the Prophet and ended by precipitating her from her saddle into the gutter, to the horror and consternation of her numerous retinue. An offence of this flagrant character committed by one unprotected by the influence of the grossest superstition would, under Oriental law, have been instantly punishable with death. But the reverence entertained for the sacred profession of culprit, the general suspicion of his want of responsibility, and a fatal indifference to his rapidly increasing power suggested the imposition of an insignificant penalty, and the bold and reckless innovator was banished from the city. In obedience to the letter, if not to the spirit of his sentence, he betook himself to a neighboring cemetery, erected there a miserable hovel, and surrounded by the significant memorials of the dead, began anew his prophecies of impending evil and his declamations against the vice and corruption of the dignitaries of the empire. The leniency with which his offences had been treated by the authorities was distorted by fear and fanaticism into persecution and injustice, and the violator of law was at once exalted into a martyr. The passions of the ignorant were then artfully aroused by the representations that the life of their leader was threatened, and a body-guard of fifteen hundred well-armed soldiers was organized to watch constantly over the safety of the self-styled Messenger of God. The Sultan now began to realize, when too late, the results of his ill-timed indulgence. He sent a peremptory order for the Mahdi to leave the vicinity of the capital. The latter, alleging that he had already complied with the directions of his sovereign as indicated by the sentence of his banishment, and feeling secure in the midst of his devoted adherents, at first declined to abandon his position; but, on hearing that measures were already taken for his assassination, he fled in haste to the distant town of Tinamal, where he had disclosed his pretended mission.

"Of all the prophets and reformers, the progenitors of dynasties, the conquerors of kingdoms, the restorers of the

Faith, which from its origin have appeared in the domain of Islam, none possess a greater claim to distinction than Abu-Abdallah, surnamed the Mahdi, the founder of the sect of the Almohades. Without the commanding genius and originality of Mohammed, he equalled that remarkable personage in keenness of perception and energy of character, and far surpassed him in education, in eloquence, in practical acquaintance with the foibles and the prejudices of humanity. The suggestive examples of his predecessors, who had attained to supreme power through pretensions to inspiration and martial achievements, incited him to establish for himself a political and religious empire. With more of the charlatan and less of the soldier in his mental composition than had characterized many reformers, he retained to the last his retiring asceticism, but in case of emergency he did not hesitate to boldly risk his life on the field of battle. No scholar was better versed than he in the literature and science of his age. His sagacity was proof against the insinuating arts of the most accomplished negotiator. In the prosecution of his ambitious projects he never considered the comfort or the safety of his followers; in the exaction of his vengeance every sentiment of pity and indulgence was ruthlessly cast aside. His influence over his disciples was maintained by appeals to superstition and by arts of imposture congenial with the temperament of the ignorant and the credulous. To conceal these frauds, the wretched instruments by whom they had been effected were promptly put to death. Such persons as were so unfortunate as to incur the enmity of the false Prophet were buried alive. Such was the extent of his power over the masses, that the crimes perpetrated by his orders or with his sanction were regarded in the light of virtues; that his spurious claims to divinity were accepted by entire nations who revered him even more than his great prototype Mohammed, and who demonstrated their enduring faith in his mission by raising his friend and successor, to whom his authority had descended, to an equality with the greatest potentates of the age." [S. P. Scott, *History of the Moorish Empire in Europe*, II, 249–54, 259–60. London, 1904.]

There, in the mosque, he [Abu-Abdallah] first openly announced his claim to temporal power. A sympathetic audience was excited to frenzy by his mysterious predictions and his fervid eloquence; his claim to universal dominion as the Champion of the Faith and the restorer of the purity of Islam was received with vociferous applause by the multitude, and in the midst of the turmoil Abd-al-Mumen and ten of his companions, rising and drawing their swords, swore eternal fealty to their leader. Their example was followed by the entire congregation; and thus, a second time, in the centre of the Sahara was inaugurated a Mohammedan reformation the precursor of a gigantic but unsubstantial and impermanent empire. This decisive step had no sooner been taken than the Mahdi proceeded to organize his government by the appointment of civil and military officials. Abd-al-Mumen was made vizier; the ten proselytes who had sworn allegiance in the mosque were united in a Supreme Council; and the subordinate bodies, composed respectively of fifty and seventy disciples, were charged with the management of affairs of inferior moment; the result of their deliberations being subject to the approval or rejection of the Mahdi himself. The revolutionists, whose numbers, daily recruited by accessions from the martial tribes of the Desert had now become formidable, assumed the name of Almohades, or Unitarians, not only to distinguish them from the Christians, whose trinitarian dogma and adoration of images caused them to be designated by all Moslems as idolaters, but to indicate as well a return to the original simplicity of Islam, long corrupted by the heterodox practices and dissolute manners of their Almoravide rivals. A strange and mysterious fatality seemed to attach to the fortunes of the latter in every field where they encountered the armies of the newly arisen Prophet. In four successive engagements the soldiers of Ali, seized with a panic in the presence of the enemy, yielded to the attack of the Berber cavalry; their standards and baggage were taken, and thousands of fugitives, butchered in headlong flight, expiated with the loss of life and honor their effeminacy and their cowardice.

" The opinion generally prevalent in the minds of the illit-

erate, that military success is an infallible criterion of religious truth, began to produce its effect on the Almoravides. The terror experienced by them at the sight of the enemy — really due to relaxation of discipline and apprehension of the miraculous powers of an audacious charlatan — was universally attributed to supernatural influence. The mission of the Mahdi required no further demonstration of its divine origin. Henceforth his utterances were received by both friend and enemy as the oracles of God. His credit daily increased among the credulous and passionate inhabitants of the Desert. The Almoravide soldiers shrank from an encounter with a foe whose white standards seemed to be invested with the mystic qualities of a talisman. The Mahdi, renouncing in a measure his character of affected humility, now assumed the pomp of a sovereign. He surrounded himself with a splendidly appointed body-guard. His throne was approached by suppliants for favor with the debasing and complicated ceremonial of Oriental despotism. He demanded, in arrogant and menacing language, submission and tribute from Ali, who, dejected from repeated misfortune, began to share with his ignorant subjects the awe which enveloped the person and the attributes of his triumphant and formidable adversary. The plans of the latter had heretofore been accomplished without an established base of operations, the camps of the Almohades being moved from place to place over the drifting sands of the Desert; but now, the direction of an army of twenty thousand men, the subsistence and shelter of a vast multitude of non-combatants, and the dignity and power of a new and growing political organization urgently demanded a settled habitation and a recognized centre of authority. Among the lofty crags of a mountain spur extending from the range of Tlemcen to the Atlantic stood the village of Tinamal. Its retired situation, its natural defences, its proximity to both the rich cities of the coast and the fertile regions of the interior, the character of its people, who were to a man ardent believers in the mission of the Mahdi, made it an admirable point either for the inauguration of a conquest or the institution of an harassing system of predatory warfare. It was approached by narrow

and tortuous paths which, winding along the mountain side, disclosed, on the one hand, an inaccessible cliff, on the other, an abyss whose depths were shrouded in perpetual gloom. From its battlements, almost hidden in the clouds, the progress of a hostile party could be watched for miles as, with slow and uncertain steps, it pursued its hazardous way. In this mountain fastness the Mahdi fixed his residence and established his capital. The natural impediments in the path of an invader were greatly multiplied by the artificial resources of engineering skill. Towers and fortresses were raised at points commanding the various approaches to the mountain stronghold. Drawbridges were thrown across roaring torrents. Walls and gateways obstructed the passage, where an insignificant force might with ease check the progress of a numerous army. The village of Tinamal soon became a city, whose inhabitants, subsisting by the plunder of their neighbors, became the scourge and the terror of the peaceable and defenceless subjects of Ali. After a long sojourn in his seat of power, the Mahdi about to succumb to a fatal disease, determined to signalize his closing days by an enterprise worthy of the pretensions he had assumed and of the success which had hitherto favored his undertakings. An army of forty thousand men was assembled for the capture of Morocco. In a desperate conflict under the wall of that city, the Almoravides, who outnumbered their opponents two to one, were put to flight and pursued with terrible carnage to its gates. But the fortunes of the Almohades, heretofore invincible, were now destined to receive a serious blow. Unaccustomed to the conduct of a siege, the soldiers of Abd-al-Mumen habitually neglected the precautions which, in the presence of an enemy, are indispensable to the security of a camp. Within the immense circuit of the capital were marshalled for a final struggle the collected resources of the empire. Thousands of fugitives from the recent disastrous battle had found asylum behind its walls. Reinforcements had been drawn from every African province as well as from the diminished Andalusian armies, their own strength already sorely taxed by repeated incursions of the Christian foe. The constructing and handling of military engines were con-

fided to a body of Byzantine and Sicilian engineers enlisted for that purpose. The soldiery was animated by the presence and example of the Sultan, who had for the time abandoned the Koran for the sword, and stood ready to perform the part of a valiant and resolute commander. The citizens, moved to desperation by the approach of an enemy whose relentless character had been established by the massacre of fugitives and prisoners, and from whose ferocity, aggravated by prolonged opposition, they could expect no indulgence, co-operated manfully with the garrison in the defence of their homes, their families, their property and their king. The first sallies of the Almoravides, conducted by leaders trained to partisan encounters in the wars of Spain, were signally disastrous to the besiegers. The latter, suddenly checked in an uninterrupted career of victory, were disconcerted and dismayed, and their confidence was shaken in proportion as the spirits of their adversaries rose. The attacks of the latter became more vigorous and determined; a general engagement followed, the Almohades were routed with terrific slaughter, and it was only by the exertion of strenuous effort that Abd-al-Mumen and a handful of survivors were enabled to escape the lances of the Almoravide cavalry. The depression caused by a single disaster was more potent in its effect upon the minds of the disciples of the Mahdi than the prestige derived from a score of victories. The influence which had exercised its mysterious sway over the imagination of all who had presumed to dispute the claims of the impostor was perceptibly impaired. The fickle tribesmen deserted his standard by thousands. But in the course of a few years his eloquence and tact were able to repair the losses he had sustained; another army commanded by Abd-al-Mumen issued from the mountains, and a brilliant victory obtained over the followers of Ali retrieved the honor and credit of the Almohade cause. The Mahdi did not long survive his triumph. Overcome with the excitement occasioned by the return of his soldiers with their array of spoils and captives, he died, after having committed to the faithful Abd-al-Mumen the accomplishment of the task of conquest and reformation which he had so successfully begun." [S. P. Scott,

History of the Moorish Empire in Europe, II, 254–9. London, 1904.]

The Mahdist movement of the Egyptian Sudan was inspired mainly by the political oppression under which the people suffered. The followers of the Mahdi were first and foremost the Baggara who " perceived in this Mahdi one who could be used to shake off Egyptian rule." His followers regarded him as the only true commander of the faithful, endued with divine power to conquer the whole world. He did, in fact, liberate the Sudanese from the extortions of the Egyptians and, at the time of his death, was planning an invasion of Egypt. [Sudan, in Ency. Britt., XXVI, 17.]

The Wahabis, a liberal sect of Mohammedanism, not only sought emancipation from the shams and ceremonials and elaborate superstitions of Islam, but also revolted against their political oppressors and sought to free themselves from Turkish tyranny. [See *The Bookman*, Vol. XLV, 498.]

The first rebellion in Andalusia after the death of Abd-er-Rahman, came, not from Christians, nor from any special political sect of Arabs or Berbers, but from certain devout sons of Islam, namely, the theological students of Cordova. [Stanley Lane-Poole, *The Moors in Spain*, 73. New York, 1898.]

The Moors of Almonacir, Spain, after the decree of expulsion (1526), fortified themselves in a castle near Saragossa and placed their hopes in succor from Africa in the promised resurrection of the Moor Alfatimi, who was to return mounted on his green horse. [H. C. Lea, *The Moriscos of Spain*, 90. Philadelphia, 1901. The belief in a mounted Mohammedan warrior of great or magic power, hidden away in some recess of the country, to reappear later, was a common element in the beliefs of the Spanish Moors. Cf. Washington Irving, *Legends of the Alhambra*. Philadelphia, 1910; and *The Alhambra*.]

In 1609 the Moriscos at Muela de Cortes, Spain, who had taken refuge in the mountain fastnesses, at first demanded a year in which to prepare for the expatriation ordered and then, when these were carried out, they revolted, but gave up when the hope that Alfatimi, whom tradition declared had

been concealed under the mountains since the days of King Jayne, was dissipated.

" Among all Mohammedans religious fanaticism is considered as the best safeguard of national sentiment, the most effective means of patriotic exultation, and the strongest weapon of resistance to foreign aggression. That," writes Ameen Rihani, " is why the new kingdom of Arabia is based foremost on the claims and sanctions of Islam." [The Revolution in Arabia, *The Bookman*, July, 1917, Vol. XLV.]

Rihani has characterized the Arabian revolution of 1917 as of purely religious nature in origin. The proclamation of the Grand Sherif and of the Ulema of Mecca quote the Koran in justification of the revolution and call upon the Arabs to arise and re-establish a pure State of Islam in accordance with the Sunnah and the Sacred Traditions of the Prophet. " The new kingdom of Arabia," in the words of the proclamation, " has the sanction in the book of Allah and is destined to revive the glory and the pristine purity of the Faith." " And so," remarks Rihani, " Sherif Hussein, mainly by virtue of his religious office, was the chosen leader."

India

The fact that most of the Hindu efforts at reform have originated during the past few years is taken by some as indicative of the influence of Christianity. [For example, by Pratt, *India and Its Faiths*, 166. London, 1915.] But the political aspirations have played such a dominant role that Christianity can be given only partial credit for them, and perhaps a minor credit. Though these politico-religious movements in India have been largely inspired by Hindus, Sir Valentine Chirol goes too far when he asks us to believe that they have been confined to Hindus. The evidence abundantly disproves his statement that " not a single Mohammedan of any account is to be found in the ranks of disaffected politicians." [*Indian Unrest*, 5. London, 1910.]

As a Hindu paper, the *Dharma* of Calcutta, said when discussing Indian Unrest, " politics is part of religion, but it has to be cultivated in an Aryan way in accordance with

the precepts of the Aryan religion." Kartiki, the god who is the chief commander of the armies of the gods, has come into the fray. " He is coming forward with his bow to assist you against the demons of sin, who stand in the way of your accomplishing that great object, and as he is up in arms, who can resist? "

The first attack of the Hindu against the British was inspired by zeal to offset the teaching of the Christian missionaries, beginning with a campaign, inaugurated in 1887 by the Hindu Tract Society of Madras, designed to influence the loyal Hindus against the missionaries. With few exceptions, " wherever political agitation assumes the most virulent character, there the Hindu revival also assumes the most extravagant shapes." Well may the Brahman exclaim: " If Mother India, though reduced to a mere skeleton by the oppression of alien rulers during hundreds of years, still preserves her vitality, it is because the Brahmans have never relaxed in their devotion to her." In recent years Brahmans have figured prominently, not only in the social and religious revivals of India, but also in the political movements that have been their almost invariant accompaniment. [Ib., Ch. II to IV.]

These agitations have by no means been confined to the Hindus. So strong has been the political power of the Mohammedan priests in the Punjab that one disgruntled Englishman declared they have contributed nothing to the common stock but inflammatory counsel and " a fanatical yell in the rear of the battle." [H. B. Edwards, *A Year on the Punjab Frontier in 1848–9*, I, 89–90. London, 1851.] The great tribal upheaval that occurred in the Malakand in 1897 was due to the priesthood of the Afghan border, who realized that the influence of civilization was detrimental to the Mohammedan religion, " A great day for their race and faith was at hand. Presently the moment would arrive. They must watch and be ready. The mountains became as full of explosives as a magazine," and the Mad Mullah, whose exploits we have depicted elsewhere, precipitated the conflict. [W. L. S. Churchill, *The Story of the Malakand Field Force*, Ch. III. London, 1898.]

In India the sixteenth century was a period of political depression and of the decay of religious zeal. The wickedness which prevailed was attributed to the worldliness of the Ulama. These Ulama combined the functions of judge, magistrate, lawyer, and divine. When the cry had been raised against these functionaries, "every man with a grievance, every man smarting under injustice, was ready to join in the chorus. Meantime earnest men were preaching that the Lord of the period was about to appear. They formed brotherhoods holding property in common. They abandoned their ordinary avocations, and lived on charity. They met together every day to rant and pray. They devoted themselves, heart and soul, to converting backsliders and preparing the world for Mahdi. The natural result followed. False Mahdis appeared in all directions, surrounded by crack-brained disciples. . . . The fanaticism was not confined to the lower order. . . . Many men of distinguished learning caught the infection." [J. Talboys Wheeler, *History of India under Mussulman Rule*, Vol. IV, Pt. I.]

Perhaps nowhere in the world, unless it be in Arabia and in Northern Africa, have political movements been so vitally a part of religion as in India. The war of 1857 had its inception in a religious offence given, or believed to have been given, to the Hindu and Mohammedan troops by doling out to them the greased bullets which their religion would not allow them to put into the mouth. (This was in the days when the soldier had to bite his cartridges.) The Wahabi movement, at one time threatening to involve India in a severe frontier war, was outspokenly religious, a crusade against the infidels. The recent convulsion in Bengal was similarly stimulated, the bomb being carried in one hand, and their bible, the Bhagavad Gita, in the other. In remote times it was by rousing the religious zeal of the people that Sivaji succeeded in founding an empire.

It was a "Mad Mullah," an inspired religious zealot, who led the attack against the British in the Malakand in 1895. This fanatic had been inspired to preach a Jehad, or Holy War, against the unbelievers. The derision with which he was at first received by the people changed to awe and ad-

miration when they saw him boldly pushing forward with his meagre retinue against a powerful enemy. He affected independence of all earthly assistance, placing his sole reliance on the Heavenly Hosts who were fighting on his side. The boldness of his advance fired the latent fanaticism of the people and a wave of religious enthusiasm overcame every prejudice. Young men and old women, and even children, flocked to the standard of the leader under whose direction they were to gain rich loot in this world or attain Paradise in the next. The fanatics fought bravely for eight days, fully entitling those that fell to any reward that such a death may bring. [Viscount Fincastle and P. C. Eliott-Lockhardt, *A Frontier Campaign*, 28–9. G. C. Narang, *Transition of Sikhism Into a Political Organization*, 1–3. Lahore, India, 1910. H. L. Nevill, *Campaigns on the North-West Frontier*, 249–50.]

Gokul Chand Narang, in a study of "The Transition of Sikhism into a Political Organization," has shown, not only that this transition is real, but that it had its beginnings early in the history of that order and developed gradually from the time of Gurn Nanak, at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Gurn Nanak saw in religious revival the only remedy that could save the Hindu community of his day from impending destruction. The condition of the Hindus in the Punjab at that time was deplorable. Nearly every vestige of their greatness had disappeared. Centuries of invasion, foreign misrule, and persecution, had produced the greatest depression. Spiritual subjection and stagnation had greatly augmented the demoralization. Nanak was the first among the Hindus to raise his voice against the tyranny and oppression which were the climax of centuries of oppression. He leavened Hindu thought throughout the Punjab by pointing out the necessity of linking faith and hope with works and daring. [See also W. Crooke, in art. Hinduism, Hastings' E.R.E., VI, 707. J. P. Jones, *India, Its Life and Thought*, 62–6. New York, 1908.] The Sikh community gradually passed from a group of religious mystics into an army, and from a sect into a nation. [Pratt, op. cit., 247.] And yet not until Sir W. W. Hunter wrote *Our Indian*

Mussulmans, was the political danger accompanying religious revivals recognized!

The evolution of the Arya Samaj recalls very forcibly that of Sikhism — at first merely organized religious and moral reform, soon developing into a formidable political if not a formidable military movement. [Sir Valentine Chirol, op. cit., 117. London, 1901. Jones, op. cit., Ch. XIII. Arya Samaj in Hastings' E.R.E., II, 57–61. Brahma Samaj, Ib., 813–24.] There seems some foundation for the statement credited to William II, the present German Emperor (1918), that "all religious movements are in reality political movements."

Hungry souls, like hungry stomachs, are prompt to violence.

It was when the ancient political framework of Indian society was undergoing a fundamental change that we find the ideas regarding Gotama and his mission crystallizing into new shape. Patriarchial societies developed into autocratic kingship. Then arose the hope for the ideal monarch, the Chakka-vatti, king of kings, irresistible and mighty, who would rule in righteousness over a happy people. [Rhys Davids, *Lectures*, etc., 129–30. Analogies might be pointed out in Judaism.]

Persia

The Bab which appeared at Ispahan during the last century, may himself, as Sell believes, have had no political aspirations, and perhaps until his death the Babis were interested mainly in religious reform. Yet even before his death his followers, in their despair and despondency, had turned upon the Government — as has frequently occurred among Mohammedan sects in Africa and in India. However much the political aspirations of the earlier sect may be minimized, as, for example, by their greatest apologist, Prof. Browne, the potentiality of political development is incisively present. Although in recent years this religious order has fomented no political troubles, "To the politician the matter is not devoid of importance; for what changes may not be effected

in a country now reckoned almost as a cypher in the balance of national forces by a religion capable of evoking so mighty a spirit? Let those who know what Muhammed made the Arabs, consider well what the Bab may yet make the Persians." [Browne, *Episode of the Bab*, lit. IX. Cambridge, 1891. Sell, *Essays on Islam*, 72. E. C. Sykes, *Persia and Its People*, 36, 140–3. A. V. W. Jackson, *Persia, Past and Present*, 48–50, 376. Art. (by Browne) on Bab, in Hastings' E.R.E., and in the Ency. Britt.]

Although Abbas Effendi recommended abstention from politics, his followers were accused of instigating the Constitutional Movement in Persia. [E. G. Browne, *The Persian Revolution of 1905–9*. Cambridge, 1910.]

China and Tibet

Oriental wisdom frequently has a turn for practical affairs. Many years ago the Chinese government gave practical recognition to the political force embodied in religious movements by requiring that a register of all the incarnate gods in the Chinese empire be kept in the Colonial Office at Peking. "The number of gods who have thus far taken out a license is one hundred and sixty. Tibet is blessed with thirty of them, northern Mongolia rejoices in nineteen, and southern Mongolia basks in the sunshine of no less than fifty-seven. The Chinese government, with a paternal solicitude for the welfare of its subjects, forbids the gods on the register to be re-born anywhere but in Tibet. They fear lest the birth of a god in Mongolia should have serious political consequences by stirring the dormant patriotism and warlike spirit of the Mongols, who might rally around an ambitious native deity of royal lineage and seek to win for him at the point of the sword, a temporal as well as a spiritual kingdom. But besides these public or licensed gods there are a great many little private gods, or unlicensed practitioners of divinity, who work miracles and bless their people in holes and corners; and of late years the Chinese government has winked at the rebirth of these pettifogging deities outside of Tibet. However, once they are born, the

government keeps an eye on them as well as on the regular practitioners, and if any of them misbehaves he is promptly degraded, and banished to a distant monastery, and strictly forbidden ever to be born again in the flesh." [An account of this peculiar union of "die weltliche Macht mit der geistlichen Autorität," will be found in Globus, 1889. I have here adopted the rendering given by J. G. Frazer in *The Dying God* (Golden Bough edition).]

It was a Chinese statesman of the fourth century B. C. (Ch'u Yuan, 332–295 B. C.), who declared: "Heaven is man's Origin; and when oppressed with poverty he recalls his Source. For when men are overwrought and worn out, who is there that does not cry to heaven?" [God (Chinese), Hastings' E.R.E., VI, 274.]

Inasmuch as the reincarnation of the Dalai Lama opens the way for political intrigue, the Chinese government has taken a hand in the matter and has exercised a certain measure of control over the god's reappearance in human form. In 1793 China prescribed for the selection of the divine ruler the so-called "oracle of the urn." By this lottery scheme the names of competing infants are written on a slip of paper and put into a golden urn. Prayer and other rites are held and the first name drawn proclaims the fortunate one. In 1808 an imperial edict gave official directions for the working of the scheme. This edict has been engraved on stone slabs at the door of the great temple of Lhasa, where it remains to this day.

In spiritual matters, also, Chinese imperialism seemed to have the upper hand of Dalai Lamaism and to use this supremacy as a means of maintaining its political superiority; much as, in the Middle Ages, the temporal superiority of the Pope was vindicated by his spiritual superiority and the destructive power of his anathemas. On March 31, 1877, for example, the Peking *Gazette*, after denouncing a recalcitrant re-incarnating Lama who had insulted the Imperial Chinese Resident at Lhasa and carried off the official seals, announced that the Emperor, as Son of Heaven, had decreed that the Lama's soul, in punishment for this offense, would not be allowed to transmigrate when its earthly house was de-

stroyed. [Art., Incarnation (Tibetan), in Hastings' E.R.E., VII, 200. By L. A. Waddell.]

Europe

The Camisards, the Protestants of the Cevennes, whom the Government of Louis XIV sought to convert by force of arms, were greatly fortified in their resistance by prophecies of speedy deliverance, based on the Apocalypse. Infectious ecstasy fell upon the people so that they heard supernatural voices and spoke with strange tongues. Thanks to this enthusiasm the little community was able for ten years to hold out against the large armies sent to subdue and destroy them. [Camisards, in Hastings' E.R.E., III, 175–6. Some description of the times is contained in Robert Louis Stephenson's *Travels with a Donkey through the Cevennes*, in the section on The Country of the Camisards.]

The relation in Europe between the organized Church and politics is a much described topic and we do not propose even to touch upon it here. Our concern is, rather, with political crises and the accompanying or consequent religious revival. Nor can we hope to do more than give a few examples of this association. To develop the topic adequately would require a volume in itself.

In England the middle of the seventeenth century was a time of great religious as of great political upheaval. The intimate connection between the political and religious conditions was pointed out by Mooney. " Hatreds were intense and persecutions cruel and bitter, until men's minds gave way under the strain. ' The air was thick with reports of prophecies and miracles, and there were men of all parties who lived on the borderland between sanity and insanity.' This was due chiefly to the long continued mental tension which bore on the whole population during this troublous period, and in particular cases to wholesale confiscations, by which families were ruined, and to confinement in wretched prisons, suffering from insufficient food and brutal treatment. Individuals even in the established church began to assert supernatural power, while numerous new sects sprang up, with prophecy, miracle working, hypnotism, and con-

vulsive ecstasy as part of their doctrine or ritual," such as the Ranters, the Quakers, and the Fifth Monarchy Men. [Fourteenth An. Rep. Bureau of Ethn., Pt. II, 936ff.]

If foes within the nation stimulate religious zeal, foes without that threaten the whole nation are all the more effective. There is a turning anew to the God of the nations. This has never been more amply illustrated than during the great European war. Germany has its national God, so has France, so has England. The layman, the theologian, the churchman, all point Him out as the God of their nation. He aids or is asked to aid, and is thanked for aiding their respective armies. In vain do a few voices, crying in the wilderness, remonstrate against this reaction to the Jahwehism of Old Testament times. [Such remonstrances have been voiced by Charles Osbourne, *Religion in Europe and the World War* (Dodd Mead and Co., 1915), and by H. G. Wells, *God the Invisible King*. New York, 1917.]

Aside from the revival of the old Jehovistic God the war has given tremendous and altogether unprecedented impetus to religious faith. In some cases it has destroyed faith. Thus it happened to that liberal and modernist, M. Loisy. [See his *Religion et la Guerre*. Paris, 1915.] For the most part, however, it has been a stimulant to the weary, a steadying influence to the wavering, a staff to the sceptical.

"As is natural in times of stress," says an American writing from Paris in April, 1915, "a national religious revival seems immanent. In spite of the reduction of population, every church in Paris was filled on Christmas eve, and at St. Genevieve, near the Panthéon, where some special services were being held during the following week, the crowds extended some distance out into the street. This is the more remarkable when one remembers the atheistic and anti-religious tendencies in France of recent years." [Published in *The American Oxonian*, II (1915), 95.] The increase in religious zeal was not limited to France but occurred in both England and Germany, and, we may suppose, in the other countries at war. In the early weeks of the war the churches in Berlin and in London were filled to overflowing, although there were many special services. [The literature is al-

ready voluminous. See, e. g., *The Independent*, August 30, 1915. War, Religion, and the Man in the Street, *Contemporary Review*, 1917, and *The Living Age*, July 27, 1917. The Return of Religion (by William Barry), *The Nineteenth Century and After*, July, 1917, also, *Living Age*, October 6, 1917. Christianity and War (by M. D. Petre), *Edinburgh Review*, Oct., 1915. Chapter on The German Religious Consciousness and the War, in A. D. McLaren, *Germanism from Within*. New York, 1916. Chapter on The Religious Revival, in H. G. Wells, *Italy, France, and Britain at War*. New York, 1917. Vida D. Scudder, *The Church and the Hour*. New York, 1917. Foakes-Jackson, *Faith and the War*. London, 1915.]

As Jules Bois has said, " It is only in the course of grave national crises . . . that there manifests itself a religious spirit, free from all internal sectarian dissensions and from conflict between orthodox doctrines and free thought — a spirit harmonious, integral, disdainful of petty details, and welded together in the fire of a glowing and mystic enthusiasm. Such is the case of France. . . . There has been and there still is [1917] between all creeds a kind of rivalry of devotion and concord. Every Sunday in Alsace, the Protestant parson helps the curé with the Mass, acting as organist. Dying soldiers hear prayers read by the regimental chaplain, irrespective of the church to which he belongs. The authentic story of the rabbi of Lyon, who was slain on the battlefield at the moment when he presented a crucifix to a wounded Catholic officer is well known." [The France Who Prays, *The Bookman*, July, 1917. See in this connection the chapter on Moral Evil and Racial Hope in Rev. Geo. A. Gordon, *Aspects of the Infinite Mystery*. Boston, 1916.]

Thus, in the present European war God has shown himself not merely " very plainly as a group figure, a rational personage," but as an individual Savior as well. [Elsie C. Parsons, *Social Rule*, 147. New York, 1916.]

The story of the effect of national crises on religious faith has been most dramatically portrayed by H. G. Wells in his book, *Mr. Britling Sees It Through*. It will be worth our while to consider for a moment,

Mr. Britling and His God

We have all read, or will read, *Mr. Britling Sees It Through.* We will read it because, as ex-President Taft has said, it represents experiences through which we, too, as the Great War progresses, will pass.[1] Part of these experiences are religious. When Mr. Britling sees the beginning of the conflict he is non-religious. We might expect less religious reaction from him than if he were irreligious, atheistic or evenly actively agnostic. These often prove good soil if only they are cultivated properly. Yet without any of these qualifications Mr. Britling emerges a religious man.

What has been responsible for his conversion and to what has he been converted?

He has found God. You will have to read the story of this God the Invisible King in order to become acquainted with his attributes. He is certainly not the jealous national God of the Hebrews — the God so rampant among the warring European and Mohammedan peoples. Neither, Mr. Wells assures us, is he the God of Christendom. The nature of this God and his attributes he describes very vividly. This God is finite, limited by fate or Necessity; he is kindly and helpful to the struggling soul. But only to the struggling soul. He believes in progress and is ready to help with sympathy, though never with miracle, the soul that is endeavoring to find the light and is struggling towards it. More than this God is powerless to do — he would, even as we human beings would, but cannot. He is remarkably like the Greek's demi-urge, an intermediary with limited powers seeking to intervene between the harsh decrees of Fate and the sad lot of mortals. He can no more destroy this stern outer Necessity than he can arbitrarily save humanity.

Mr. Wells drives home the fact that his God is truth not poetry. "God is no abstraction nor trick of words, no Infinite. He is as real as a bayonet thrust or an embrace." If others say, "Show us this person; let us hear him," the reassurance is, "If they listen to the silences within, pres-

[1] The above was written in February, 1918.

ently they will hear him." [*God the Invisible King*, 56.] But if those who insistently listen insist also that they do not hear him? Mr. Wells would, I presume, reply, "Then, indeed you are to be pitied, for you are deficient in this sensibility." Other comfort there seems none. It is as though one listened faithfully to an opera and failed to find therein any music, any exaltation of the soul. God is a music of exaltation tremulously pervading our souls, if only we have ear for it.

In some ways Mr. Wells' proof of God reminds us of Descartes' famous ontological proof of God. I find in me the thought of an Infinite Being; only an Infinite Being could supply a conception of the Infinite; therefore the Infinite Being exists. Here the existence of the conception is taken as proof sufficient of the existence of the object conceived. Is this also Mr. Wells' method or does he adduce other objective proofs? If he does I have failed to discover them. The assumption is clear; the legitimacy of it is another matter and apart. In numerous passages quoted from other writers he points out the implied or expressed belief in progress and betterment and thus the belief in God. But what has that to do with the existence of the hypothecated God? Have not all men believed for centuries in a Ptolemaic system, in the justice of their cause, in a prolongation beyond the grave of the mundane life? Why does Mr. Wells rule one of these out of court and reserve another as the exemplar of truth? Has he discovered or has he created God?

The belief, he says, is "crystallising out of the intellectual, social, and spiritual confusions of this time." "People habitually religious," he writes elsewhere, "have been stirred to new depths of reality and sincerity, and people are thinking of religion who never thought of religion before." [*Italy, France, and Britain at War*, 200.] Needs call forth faith and faith finds God. [*God the Invisible King*, 6.]

Mr. Wells realizes that in all of the warring countries religion is in the air and God is crystallizing out of it. Now that we are in the war may we not anticipate some similar stirring of spirit here? Already the prediction has been

made that "Religion in this stormful crisis is coming to its own among the American people. . . . Before the war is over the American people will have made their God. That is now in the making. Perhaps it would be more exact to say that God already exists, and that the people are engaged in finding him. For in periods of peace and plenty, in the midst of 'the daily round and the common task,' a nation is liable to forget that it has a God." [President Charles F. Thwing, article on God in the Making, published by the National Editorial Service in August, 1917. Also, American Opinion, in *Hibbert Journal*, Oct., 1917; *Living Age*, Dec., 1917.]

Surely it doth seem that, in this realm at least, "knowledge is but the servant of desire and hope and faith." Mr. Britling found God because his desire, his hope, and his faith demanded one. His God, it is true, does not satisfy all. [E. g., his friend and neighbor the Countess of Warwick. See her article on The God of Mr. Britling — And of Our Fathers, *The Bookman*, April, 1917, Vol. 45, p. 145–7.] But if he wishes to apply the name God to this particular set of demands and hopes, why should we say him nay? After all, his views depart scarcely at all from those of Voltaire. "I had rather worship a limited than a wicked God," writes Voltaire in *Candide*. "I cannot possibly offend him when I say: 'Thou hast done all that a powerful, kind, and wise being could do. It is not thy fault if thy works cannot be as good and perfect as thou art.'"

[Voltaire's view came from an age of political foment and personal persecution. Perhaps he was influenced in this formulation by the Monodology of Leibnitz who insisted that God had chosen the best of all possible worlds, having been limited in the opportunities. Francis Bradley facetiously referred to it as the best of all possible worlds, everything in it being a necessary evil. See Bradley, *Appearance and Reality*.]

To any one who can read the signs of the times the indications of a religious revival are sufficiently ample. National calamity brings our thoughts and emotions to a focus. We become unitedly concerned about our salvation. There is bound to be in it something of the mob psychology. We

think and act in masses; the individual isolation is gone, and, in its place, is the intenser but more unthinking ardor of united action. The critical factor is in abeyance. We are more open to suggestion, less able to check extravagance of thought and action. We wish to be saved. The wish is father to the thought. We find a method of salvation not made with human hands and to it we entrust ourselves and our fortunes. So it has been throughout all the centuries of history and so it remains to-day the world over, among the most civilized as among the most uncivilized of peoples.

Mr. Britling may well regard his experience as typical rather than exceptional. He has given expression to a common need. He has found a God because he has demanded a God to make life rational and worth living. Whether his God is identical with the God of his fellows who seek him in like manner is a point we shall not take up at this time. If this God is but an emphasised portion of Mr. Britling himself, then there would seem to be as many Gods as there are Mr. Britlings, and as various in character. But this need not detract from their efficacy nor from their reality. For, as Robert Louis Stevenson once remarked, every man is, in the last resort, his own doctor of divinity, and, whatever his indebtedness to others, must work out his own salvation in his own way.

While the effect of the War upon Mr. Wells represents what has taken place again and again, there is another type of reaction directly in opposition. This type is exemplified in its noblest form by M. Alfred Loisy, a French modernist, whose faith has gone to pieces in the tumult of the fray.

Nor, should we, perhaps, say that his faith has gone to pieces. Rather it has anchored itself anew to other impulses than the orthodox religious ones, if religious they should be called. He is insulted that the Germans should flout their God as Teutonic, German in make-up as in sympathy, and pose self-righteously as the pets of this old Jahweh-Woden. He is not a little chagrined that the Pope has not limited himself to impartiality rather than to strict neutrality in a struggle of causes where one should be impartial but no one can with honor be neutral.

His arraignment is, however, much deeper than this. It is not merely that the churches have failed; what is of tremendously more import is that Christianity has failed. The teachings of Christ have failed egregiously because they have found no place for patriotism, for loyalty to group or nation. They have thus failed to meet one of the most searching problems of the time of the great teacher, and they offer no solution to contemporary conflicts of interests and ideals save such solution as no citizen can accept, no patriot harbor for a single moment. Under no circumstance, it would seem — here M. Loisy has many interpreters to the contrary, though he is not controversial — is war, from the standpoint of the teachings of Christ, justifiable. We, of the present day, can not shrink from war as always inferior to peace. If we are to sing, "Glory to God in the highest," let us have no lower aspiration than "Peace on earth to men of *good* will." Let our peace be a peace designed to foster righteousness, not one that passively paves the way to evil. Uppermost always must be *social obligation.* "The famous rights of man are the obligations of society to the individual, the duties of all to each. Not less obvious or necessary are the duties of the individual to society, of each to all. The foundation of these duties, which is also the foundation of society, of all human order, of the enduring religion, is simply that each individual owes himself entirely to the society which has reared him, because he owes to it everything he is." Thus M. Loisy stands out as first and foremost a patriot and a Frenchman.

If we may add our sad sequel to these fine sentiments of the author just quoted, it is that what he has said will prove good dogma for the conquering Teuton as well as for the resisting Frenchman. If the Frenchman owes to France everything, then, by parity of reasoning, the German owes to Germany everything — unswerving allegiance, sacrifice to the group. Must we not, then, transcend the patriotic loyalties and superimpose upon them some inclusive ideal which will reconcile their conflicting interests? Must we not keep a self not national to ourselves if we are to speak of international duties? [A. Loisy, *Religion and the War.* Eng-

lish translation. Oxford, 1915. See also, the chapter on Pulpits of Hate, in D. Thomas Curtin, *The Land of Deepening Shadow: Germany at War*. New York, 1917. H. A. Gibbons, *Paris Reborn: A Study in Civic Psychology*. New York, 1915. *The Present Truth*, Vol. II, Series No. 25. Published at Takoma Park, Washington, D. C., Jan. 1, 1918.]

Mohammedanism, as we have seen, has a similar story. The Mahdi, the Mohammedan Messiah, has arisen again and again among the downtrodden and oppressed, promising deliverance and freedom. The Mahdi movement which resulted in General Gordon's death in the Sudan, taught the English the potency of this inspiration, and they have had other similar lessons in India. The Ghost Dance religion which swept across the Plains Area in our own country a little more than a quarter of a century ago, culminating in the massacre of General Custer, was a movement inspired by a Messiah, a politico-religious reformer who now lives a quiet and unobtrusive life among the Paiute Indians of the South-West. There is nothing improbable in Prof. Shorey's suggestion that the large space allotted by Herodotus to national and local festivals, cults, shrines, oracles, the religion of the dead, the worship of heroes, indicates that the crisis of the Persian wars temporarily stimulated the popular faith in the supernatural. [Philosophy (Greek), in Hastings' E.R.E., IX (1917), 860.]

CHAPTER IX

AN INTERPRETATION OF MESSIANIC MOVEMENTS

"The worth and interest of the world consists not in its elements, be these elements things, or be they the conjunctions of things; it exists rather in the dramatic outcome of the whole process, and in the meaning of the successive stages which the elements work out."— William James.

The Conditions Which Foster Messianic Faith

"RARE souls in dark and stagnant times have believed in progress and have inculcated a vague messianic hope." [Hayes, *Introduction to Sociology*, 483. Appleton, 1915.] Such rare souls to which we give the name of messiahs have flourished in many parts of the earth's surface and in many stages of civilization. They are not unknown to the rudest savagery; they have brought hope to our early European forebears; they have come with the dawn of Oriental history and they still rise, now and then, to cheer the path of at least two races of Oriental peoples, the Hebrews and their cousins, the Arabs.

Messianic faith can, in many cases, be traced to an attempt to revive a decadent religion. But that this is only part of the story, and perhaps the smaller part, the preceding chapters have shown. The counterpart of the decaying religious or social life which makes up the complement of messianic faith, is an active resistance to this decadence, a vigorous reaction by the given individual or group. Indeed, if the individual or group is sufficiently anxious, the religion, or the society, can always be shown to be in need of a savior of some kind. To zealots, as some one has said, the decay of religion is always obvious. "Fanatics are always ready to denounce the wickedness of the times, to proclaim the advent of a prophet, to herald the dawn of a millennium." If, now, "the multitude are always grateful to know that they are

living at an important crisis; on the eve of some portentous catastrophe which is to aggrandize themselves and chastise everybody else," we have the stage set for the appearance of the messiah and the successful playing of his rôle. But if the multitude is not pleased to have such information — and it is, as a matter of fact, often in unreceptive mood — the zealot will be zealous in vain. On the other hand, if it longs to be saved, and there is no zealot at hand, a zealous people will stir up one. Reason is helpless when matched with obstinate hope, for obstinate hope is always a refusal to apply reason to the situation. So, when a people have once heartily embraced a chimera and cheer one another with it, evidence does little to dissipate the illusion. Hope fosters faith, and faith finds some agency of belief, even if this be only a voice. Hope is a poor companion for a man in need, says Hesiod. But it is really the best of companions, the most inspiring and invigorating. The man without hope may be likened to the Indian's hibernating bear — he gnaweth his own foot within his fireless house and cheerless home. [See Greenville Kleiser, *How to Develop Self-Confidence*. New York, 1910. Naïve but essentially true.]

With all our search for a rationale of the messianic hope we shall never arrive at a complete understanding of it, never so thoroughly know the conditions under which it arises, as to be able safely to predict its occurrence at a given time and place. But we can show, I believe, some of the larger features common to its manifestations, and can describe the types of mind and the social conditions which foster it, as well as those which are unfavorable to its genesis.

The Attitude That Fosters Messianic Faith

For purposes of interpretation we may distinguish two types of attitude, the active and the passive, the one favorable to messianic hope, the other a damper upon it, though the difference is, of course, one of degree.

If we view human nature in the large, the struggle for salvation may be said to be wide-spread and persistent. No human society survives unless it feels and responds to some

phase of this need. Man lives in a world of competing forces and is strangled by them unless he struggles. He meets these forces in variant manner. "He may think his enemies to be natural phenomena, such as the cold of winter which threatens him with starvation; or they may be human foes, who constantly endanger his life and happiness. They may be untoward social circumstances which lay heavy burdens upon him in every hour of his existence. They may be the impersonal forces of an inexorable destiny in whose meshes he seems hopelessly entangled, or destiny may have become personalized in the form of demoniac powers lurking in every shadow ready to pounce upon him at any moment. Or he may regard his worst enemy to be gross materialistic existence which chokes and tarnishes his soul shut up in the prison house of the body. Again, he may lament that he has yielded to the wicked impulses of his heart and thus placed his conscience under the burden of sin and guilt. These hostile forces, acting singly or in combination, tend to make man conscious, early in his experience, of the need of salvation.

"His conception of the content of salvation naturally varies with his notion of his foes. He longs for a land of plenty with security from all invading and plundering armies; he pictures a Utopia where life for everybody, and for himself in particular, will be free from distressing circumstances; he seeks to anticipate fate by providing himself with safeguards against all the demons; he looks for some means to release the soul from its prison chamber, purge it of its impurities through contact with matter, and enable it to soar aloft to the ethereal regions whence it came; or, finally, he yearns for deliverance from sin and guilt, and the restoration of a pure heart, that he may fill his life with noble ethical attainments."

The process of salvation is two-fold: he relies upon himself or upon some external superhuman forces. "He makes himself weapons of war and builds fortresses to ward off the attacks of his enemies. He corrects social ills by reorganizing society and establishing new form of government. He protects himself from the demons of a fatalistic world by

prying into their secrets, learning their foibles, and formulating charms or other magical devices for thwarting their designs. The soul enveloped in base matter struggles through self-cultivation of its own inherent divine character to free itself from its prison house. The wicked impulses of the heart are nullified through a volitional activity of man who establishes laws for the regulation of his conduct and purges all evil out of his life. In all this man is primarily his own savior and salvation is essentially a matter of his own attainment."

The other process of salvation is one in which reliance is placed primarily on external assistance. "He is under the special care of a mighty savior-deity who is capable of carrying him safely through the vicissitudes of life. His soul is delivered from its thraldom in matter through the help of a divine deliverer who descends to its rescue and his success in the struggle against sin, guilt, and the power of evil-desire is assured through divine aid which frees him from bondage of the past and fills his heart with new and holy impulses. This general type of faith may be termed redemption-religion, in contrast with the former type which might be called attainment-religion. The two types, to be sure, shade into one another. Most religions of attainment have a place for the notion of the deity's help as a supplement to human effort, while most redemption-religions require some measure of activity on man's part. But the general distinction is clear. In one case it is human endeavor which stands in the foreground and conditions attainment; in the other, human effort counts only as an accessory to the redeeming work of the deity." The problem of salvation is a story of individual peculiarities interwoven with a fluctuating and inconstant world which is variously apprehended by individual men. [S. J. Case, *Evolution of Early Christianity*, 284–6. Chicago, 1914. The two attitudes, passive and actively resistant, are well described by MacDonald, *Aspects of Islam*, Ch. VIII.]

So much for the psychological setting. Let us now consider two diverse methods of interpretating our collated data, namely,

Psychological versus Statistical Methods of Interpretation Shall We Interpret Messianic Movements by Psychological or by Statistical Methods?

It would be difficult to find two points of view that appear, at first blush, to have less in common than the psychological and the statistical. The one attempts to explain a social state or action by the conscious motives and desires that precede or accompany the social state or action; the other refuses to accept such states of mind at their face value, treats motives and intentions as only a portion of the whole situation, and gives them no unique subjective but only an objective value. The psychologist is interested primarily in the nature and intensity of the conscious states which are parts of the respective situations; while the statistician is interested in their recurrence under similar situations and in the uniformity of this recurrence. As we shall see, however, these two points of view are, perhaps, not separate and apart, but the one may play into the hands of the other.

To illustrate the apparent independence and virtual interdependence of these two methods of treatment, the psychological and the statistical, we could scarcely find better example than the phenomena of messianic religions. Here we have the play of strong motives and an intensity of psychological influences that can scarcely be out-paralleled. Statistics will apply to good purpose since these messianic manifestations are both numerous and widespread. Moreover, when we seek for causative influences, we find that any psychological interpretation must take refuge in statistics to support its case, while, conversely, no statistical investigation that is not guided by psychological analysis is, in the least, trustworthy — perhaps not even possible.

Messianic manifestations in aboriginal America afford a good illustration of the difficulties inherent in the problem of interpretation. The first of these occurred in 1675 in the pueblo of San Juan, among the Tewa. Here we find a dozen conditions any one of which might, conceivably, be the cause. How shall we know whether the real cause is the genius and enthusiasm of the leader, the favorable social

atmosphere, the attempt to withstand outside pressure, or some other of the manifold forces at work? An intensive study will bring out the details of the situation more clearly, but will it identify efficient causes? While the psychologist puzzles over this one instance the statistician will seek examples of messianic manifestations in other areas. He will bring other examples from the Plains area and from the Eastern States.

Shall we suppose that a study of these manifestations in the Eastern and Plains tribes can be of value in determining the causes of a similar manifestation in the Pueblo region, or shall we consider them as incapable of throwing light on these causes — inasmuch as the former are unique and geographically separate from the Tewa instance?

It seems legitimate to extend the survey to these other tribes. In them we may find the rationale more prominently to the fore than in the Pueblo tribe. We may consider the Tewa as but one instance of many and view all the American messianic movements as a class to which the Tewa belong.

When we wish to interpret messianic movements in America should we limit our consideration to them or should we include other similar movements in various parts of the globe? This step we may be inclined to take with more hesitation because of separation in time, in geography, and in culture — differences which some consider a vital weakness in any classification.

Let us see, then, how the psychological and statistical methods, respectively, apply. In the North American manifestations there is a great diversity of psychological conditions; an intensity of feeling is about the only psychological phase common to all of them. But one extraneous influence is invariably present, namely, a threatened or impending break-down of the tribal life, due to outside pressure from other groups. In some cases the Messiah and his followers are aware of this condition; in other cases they appear to be unconscious of it. If this be the cause the recognition of it is not essential to its efficacy.

In view of the prevalence throughout aboriginal America of this common cause, for such we take it to be, the story of

messianic movements in other lands has an added interest. They abound in Mohammedan countries: in Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, the Sudan, Abyssinia, India. They are found among African tribes, in Melanesia, the Philippines, Thibet, China, and in the older Buddhistic Japan as well as in the Japan of to-day. In Judaism the messianic idea has found place from the days of Jeremiah to the present hour and may be expected to reappear at any time. Historical and geographical continuity, the contagion of culture, will explain much but not all, for the faith has flourished and Messiahs have arisen most frequently, if not solely, among the poor and down-trodden classes and at the moment when the hand of the oppressor was heaviest. This is as true of the Mahdi of Mohammedanism and of the Messiah of Judaism as of the Messiahs of North America.

The investigator may easily enough describe these instances but how shall he interpret them? Shall we consider them as belonging to many different classes, or shall we say that all may be brought into one class, the class of messianic religions? Shall we give them a psychological or shall we give them a statistical interpretation, that is, consider the prevalence of some objective condition, whether or not that condition is recognized by those who participate in these movements?

Why is it that rare souls who have lived in dark and stagnant times have inculcated a messianic hope? Is it because they were rare souls and believed in progress or is it because the times were dark and stagnant? Only a rare soul is capable of instilling the idea and only dark and stagnant times supply the need for it. There must be a savior to proclaim salvation; there must be also a people willing to be saved; and there must be some impending calamity from which they wish to be saved. The whole phenomenon is an example of a struggle for survival, of a struggle intensified by the danger. Yet, the messianic faith can flourish without the favorable external conditions, for, as has been said, "fanatics are always ready to denounce the wickedness of the times, to proclaim the advent of a prophet, to herald the dawn of a millennium," and a certain portion of the multi-

tude are always grateful to know that they are living at an important crisis, "on the eve of some portentous catastrophe which is to aggrandize themselves and chastise everybody else."

Thus, our problem is part of a larger problem, How shall we determine cause and effect in social life? and will be answered only when that is answered. Let us then, for a moment turn to this larger problem, and to illustrations from other phases of social life. [In the December, 1911, number of *The Educational Review* (Vol. 42, p. 514–6), in an article on The Significance of President Lowell's Statistics, the author discussed a similar problem in the field of education, and suggested that "perhaps no mathematical demonstration will ever be convincing proof of the efficacy or failure of a given educational system."]

In a sense every phase of culture may be given a psychological interpretation. Even stone implements and all material objects may be looked upon as the gratification of some desire — else they would not be made or used. This may be said of every form of social life; any and all of it may be viewed as the response to a demand, the creation of a desire. Psychology, however, does not wholly determine culture but is, on the contrary, largely determined by it. People have a certain form of social life and a certain material culture because this is what they want, but it is also true that they want it because they have it. Perhaps in the last resort the one principle will explain as much as the other. We are rational beings because we will to be so and we will it because we are such.

If this interplay of psychology and sociology be admitted — and it can be amply demonstrated — a psychological explanation of any portion of social life becomes hazardous. The explanation may lie embedded in psychology or in the social, material, or economic life. Suppose we wish to interpret some actual situation of social or psychic life, as the anthropologist and historian attempt to do: what weight are we to give these respective claimants, any one of which may, conceivably, be a sufficient explanation?

Let us take, for illustration, some of the situations in

point; for example, the practice of killing or abandoning the aged. There need be no dispute about the facts, for hypothetical cases will serve equally well.

We find a number of tribes which kill or abandon the helpless aged. The practice is best exemplified in North America among the Eskimo and the Dakota. These tribes give quite different explanations for the practice. The Eskimo, like the old Scandinavians, say that the spirit of the deceased enters the next world in the condition in which it leaves this one. Hence, in order to save an aged parent from an enfeebled and miserable condition in the next world, it becomes a filial duty to dispatch him or her before age has spoiled the chances of a vigorous postmortem existence. There is reason to believe that the killing is done precisely from this motive, and, in many cases, reluctantly, though the whole system of religious belief sanctions it.

The Dakota abandon the aged because they are not able to keep up with the tribe on the march, but they show affection by leaving food and shelter and fuel for the abandoned.

Both of these peoples are nomadic. The aged are cared for in camp and abandoned only when they are unable to keep up on the march. Do the psychological motives explain the practice or shall we say that they are secondary rather than primary, the effect rather than the cause, the excuse but not the reason, and shall we look to nomadic life and the harsh conditions of existence as more fundamental and causative?

An aged Fijian will say that he cannot stand the taunts of his fellows who liken his encroaching feebleness to the weakness of women, and he will accept a voluntary death cheerfully enough. A Hindoo widow will immolate herself because she prefers to do so. Are these the real reasons or only the reflexes from more profound conditions which lie beyond the individual's control and so only an effervescence of deeper currents?

Again, consider the motives and the conditions associated with infanticide. The newborn are killed from various motives: it is unseemly for twins to appear, or for a child to be born while another is not yet weaned, or to be born at a cer-

tain season of the year. Suppose that this season is the season of drought, or the one when game is scarce; suppose that the tribes which practice infanticide most are those which find it most difficult to subsist where Nature is chary of a food supply, or where the tribe is isolated and does not need a surplus of warriors to recruit its ranks. Shall we look to unrecognized economic motives as the deeper and more compelling ones or shall we take the natives' own understanding of the case at its face value and find in this practice, not one deep-lying cause, but causes as various as the motives which induce to infanticide and, at the same time, condone it?

So much for examples. Illustrations in two phases of social psychic life present the issue as well as illustrations in two hundred phases. But it is, perhaps, not so obvious that two examples in a given phase carry as much weight as two hundred. Some, no doubt, feel that if we have illustration after illustration of the correlation of abandonment of the aged with nomadic life, and case after case in which infanticide is associated with harsh economic life, then the thesis that the economic social conditions and not the psychological occasioning motives are the determining factors is correspondingly strengthened. If, on the other hand, we find certain psychological motives associated with certain practices, whether there is or is not the harsh economic demand, then, conversely, the psychological stimulus is shown to be sufficient and it must be taken as the causative element; the others as auxiliary but superfluous. Or, should we say that in some cases the two factors (social-economic and psychological) are jointly causative, while in other cases one alone is causative?

What the proffered solution of a given problem of this kind would be is for us at this moment not so important as the method by which one would proceed with the task; for, after all, the value of the solution can never be conceived as lying apart from the method by which that solution has been reached.

Assuredly, any serious inquirer into social or psychic causes will welcome additions to the data. He will feel safer

with two hundred instances than with two. But why? If it is merely because he likes to have more material, to extend his range of activity, then he has given greater amplitude to the problem, but he is not necessarily any nearer the heart of it. He may romp in larger confines, but he is still confined to romping.

If, however, he insists that this increase of data does take him nearer to the heart of the problem, then he has a faith in the solvent power of arithmetic which it would befit him to justify; for we may assume that he is catholic enough to wish to save our inquiring souls as well as his own. Yet if he cannot get truth by counting noses, how can he get it by counting tribes? Isn't there something paradoxical in saying that we cannot understand the efficient causes in tribe A or in tribes A–F in North America if we are limited to them, but that we can understand them in larger measure, that is more intensively, after an excursus among tribes in other parts of the world though these tribes do not have and never did have any historical contact with the tribes in North America? Isn't it like searching amid the careers of Alexander the Great, Napoleon the First, and Emma Goldman for the biography of George Washington? Can the alchemy of arithmetic transpose such supposition into seeming?

The process may be above arithmetical alchemy. The search for more data may be actuated, not by a desire for multiplicity, but by a desire for completeness and unity. We strive, in a word, to include all the members of a class or type, in order that we may understand the class, and so the individual members of it. That this class is real and not figurative can be plausibly urged. We speak, for example, of the abandonment of the aged among the Eskimo. But this resolves, after all, into abandonment by various individuals — there is no tribal abandonment. We speak of the custom, and properly enough, as an attribute of Eskimo culture, and so treat the area as a unit rather than as a multiplicity of individual behaviors. In much the same way our Fijian, Australian, and other tribal units can be gathered into one class, a class and a unity as real as the Eskimo class and unity; for both are syntheses, both are but the

outcome of our system of classification. The justification for finding this unity in multiplicity is its usefulness. The microscopic survey of the microbe would, I suppose, justify it in considering as complex, multiform, and incapable of being reduced to any unity, the creature which we accept as a single individual. If the voice of dissent insists that in these various tribes we have a hiatus in culture, space, and historical relations, not found in our acceptance of the Eskimo as a unit of culture, we might reply first, that the difference is only a matter of degree, and, secondly, that it is not material. If we can study geological formation in this manner, why not sociological formation? Cosmic history has not been made by uniform causes any more than has human history. Human nature is no more variant in its fundamentals than is soil or rocks, and the atmosphere that envelops the globe has had no more uniform history than the social atmosphere that envelops man. But in this day only a bold heart would draw the inference.

To return to our problem: Is it any easier to explain the causative influences that operate this centipede class than it is if we chop it up into so many monopede tribes each supported by its own psychic and social crutches? If American and African society has had no influence upon Hebrew society, how can these cultures help to explain Hebrew culture? If we remember that the multiplicity consists in the variety of times and places where social life is unfolding, rather than in the nature of that life itself, some of the difficulty disappears. Social life is playing its rôle in many places and under many guises; but it is composed the world over of much the same stuff and strives for surprisingly similar things.

The relation between the psychology and the statistics of social life is a bothersome one. We count the number of correspondences and of lack of correspondences to see whether our law holds good, and consider an overwhelming majority of correspondences a good proof of the law. Thus our logic of interpretation falls back for its ultimate confirmation upon statistics, and it is difficult to see how we could accept a law which was not demonstrated by an actual

count of cases in which it is put to the test.

Statistics, then, appear to be vital. But can they, in themselves, give us any solution or must they always be subservient to some other program, a witness which we summon, but only a witness and never a court of decision? Take the abandonment of the aged or infanticide as cases in point. It might turn out that these customs are correlated with extremes of temperature, with amount of rainfall, or with a belief that the sun passes around and over a stationary earth in twenty-four hours. At least they are, as a matter of fact, correlated with dusky skins, and the absence of them with white skins. Then, if statistics, as such, are to prove anything, they prove that the color of the skin has as much to do with the custom as has economic conditions. In fact, it proves the causative power of pigmentation more completely, for the correlation is much higher.

But if statistics can only offer their evidence and we are to judge of their value, what is to guide us? First, we might say, no one would believe that a change of pigmentation would produce any change in ethics. But unless we have statistical proof of this, isn't our declaration a matter of mere faith? Obscure things do affect our ethics: a shifting of the wind to the rainy quarter may upset a man's liver and cause him to insult his wife. There is no reason why it should do so, but it does. Why, then, may not a change of complexion lead to infanticide and parenticide? Statistics, it seems, will show us the correlation between two things that we single out, but can never tell us whether we have singled out the proper interacting factors. If, however, our logic of causes has no weight without statistical proof, and, moreover, is not proved even when the correlation is complete, how can we make inference with any confidence?

The answer to this question is, I am inclined to think, that what one singles out as the cause of social events is largely a matter of choice. In a sense, and for that matter in a very real sense, the entire social complex must be viewed as a cause, or, if you like, the whole universe. Yet various phases of the universe and of the social complex may vary without any apparent or corresponding degree of change

in a given trait of social life, and we look for more intimate correlations. That phase of social or physical environment which affects most the given trait is our main interest. The answer is to be found in that phase which most consistently involves a change in the given trait. If, for example, whenever we have the favorable physical environment we find the given trait, say infanticide or abandonment of the aged, appearing, then it is preferable as an explanation. But if changes of religion, ethics, or other motives can effect a different practice when physical environment remains the same, then this is preferable. If we have the same proportion of correspondences in each case, there is no reason to prefer one to the other. If, however, we extend the class by including many more instances, we have a new angle on the phenomena. It is not enough to discover that red hair is correlated with moral disposition. We must ask if change in color of hair tends to be followed by change in character and whether this is greater than the change that takes place when there is no change in pigmentation. The correlation of psychic state (motive) with practice is not enough. We must know whether the psychic state is present irrespective of other psychic or physical conditions, or is only aroused by others, and so is an occasioning cause but not a sufficient one, that is, not the prime mover.

The results of any such statistical and psychological examination will, of course, be highly tentative. But this is of the essence of the case and casts no discredit upon the method by which cause and effect in social life must be determined.

[Acknowledgment is due the *American Journal of Sociology* for permission to use the above material, p. 247 to p. 253, which appeared originally in that Journal, March, 1917.]

There appear to be, then, two points of view from which we may interpret messianic manifestations: we may include all of them in one class as so many diverse expressions of the same fundamental desire finding outlet now in this, now in that group at various indeterminate or, at best, only partly determinate times. Our explanations follow the

event. We can not predict that a Messiah will appear at a given time and place. Some sort of prediction we can make, though never, of course, with complete assurance of its fulfillment. [In this respect we are in somewhat the same dilemma as the life insurance company with regard to its prediction of mortality. It cannot determine what individual will die at a given time or place. The life insurance company is infinitely better off in this regard than are we, but the problems are, after all, much the same.] Our prediction must be vague. We may, let us say, predict more Messiahs among the Hebrews than among ascetic Buddhists, more for a discontented and struggling Mohammedanism than for a philosophic and well-satisfied Taoism or Confucianism.[1]

As we become more intimately aware of the conditions prevailing among two given peoples we may with more assurance predict a greater number of Messiahs from the one group than from the other. We cannot go farther than this and say that if we knew all of the conditions we could predict with absolute confidence. In all social life there are imponderables whose influence can never be predetermined. In all group life as in all individual life there is an element of freedom which takes indeterminate direction and upsets the most careful calculation. It is not true that, given the suitable conditions, the messiah will appear. The appearance of a messianic faith is itself one of the conditions. Even a political revolution does not get under way until discontent over-balances oppression. The spirit of resistance may be fanned but is not created by injustice and persecution. The group may play the martyr and be led an unwilling but unresisting victim rather than turn in its might upon the cause of its ills.

These two points of view, the search for uniform causes

[1] The Moriscos of Spain offer a good example of our liability to go astray in the matter of prediction. Here, if anywhere, the conditions were such as might be expected to call forth a Mahdi. Yet none in the long course of their oppression and struggle for political and religious freedom seems to have appeared. At least I deem it safe to suppose that so thorough and careful a historian as Lea would not have passed them by, and there is no reference to them in his work. [*The Moriscos of Spain.* Philadelphia, 1901.]

and the search for unique causes in the respective groups where the Messiahs appear, are not mutually exclusive. They are supplementary rather than contradictory; each is to be used for what it is severally worth, and each is a contingent check upon the other.

To view our problem from these two angles rather than from one is to get some conception of the two dimensions of the phenomena — the universal and the particular, what is common and what is unique. There are laws of history and laws of society, else any study of either is fruitless; but, as William James has said, to speak of these laws as something inevitable, which science has only to discover, and whose consequences any one can then foretell, since nothing can alter or avert them — to conceive of them thus is idle folly. The imponderables forever play their part in social life and no law is adequately formulated which leaves them out of account. So far as these laws undervalue individual differences and the other imponderables they may justly be called "the most pernicious and immoral of fatalisms." [William James, *The Will to Believe*, 216–62. New York, 1898.]

The truth is, "we cannot do more than conjecture, with more or less confidence, but never with certainty of prediction, how any given man or any given community of men will behave under any given set of conditions. . . . Each individual has, when considered as a human being, something peculiar to himself which is not and cannot be completely known or measured." [Lord Bryce, War and Human Progress, *Atlantic Monthly*, September, 1916 (Vol. 118). A. L. Kroeber, The Superorganic, *American Anthropologist*, April–June, 1917, Vol. 19, No. 2, esp. 194–205.]

The Messiah's Initiative and the Group's Response

A survey of messianic movements and a correlation of the Messiah's initiative with the prevailing social atmosphere, seems to indicate that the individual is member of a class and the vehicle of a higher purpose which envelopes his individual and unique efforts. Whether this purpose is imparted to

him by the group of which he is a part and for whose salvation he strives is another question. The individual is reacting to his environment and that environment may be very different from the environment of the group. How, then, shall we answer that much-asked question, Is this individual initiative or social compulsion?

We create an unreal difficulty when we consider individual initiative and social law as mutually exclusive or as, when referred to the same act, incompatible concepts. Both concepts are referable to the same act, just as the genius, in his accomplishment, may be both the most indebted man and the greatest contributor of his age. In fact, one might almost say that he is the one because he is the other.

Individual initiative may properly describe an act which is, at the same time, the forwarding of a group purpose. We may as well ask the question: Does the man move toward town in the morning because he wishes to get to his office or is it because the train he boards is moving in that direction? Is it any the less the fulfilment of his wish because the environment happens to be favorable? Why do not all the individuals of the group become Messiahs?

The same act may be designed to save both the individual and his group. Both aims may be co-ordinated in the individual. The individual is not included in the group as a particle of air is included in a foot-ball, so that every impulsion is but a propulsion resulting from contact with other particles of the same closed system. A better analogy is the pack of wolves, in which there is concert between the individual members, but not a socially closed system of influences. Each individual wolf entertains relations with the outside non-wolf world in much the same way that the whole pack does. To him as an individual may come the influence from without which he imparts to the entire pack. Concerted action may thus be prompted directly by his alarm of danger or his communication that game has been scented. Though the reward be for the pack, it is none the less the result of individual stimulus.

To inquire what religion a man would have without the social stimulus is perplexing enough, for complete independ-

ence from social currents seems as difficult to perceive as silly to desire. But it seems clear enough, also, that his life would lose in effectiveness if the forces of gravity ceased to apply to him, or if oxygen no longer revitalized his blood corpuscles. Is the social dependence different in kind or only in degree from the physical and the physiological? Man is part of the gravitational, part of the biological, and no less a part of the social system.

But he not only is a part of them; he has a part in them.

No doubt the individual is often ignorant of the higher social purposes within which many of his individual purposes revolve. Society, too, may be held under the dominant purpose of an individual while convinced that this acceptance is wholly self-willed. Groups are misled to their undoing, are blinded to every rational and practical consideration, when the Messiah has brought them under his spell. If we answer that society obeys only when it chooses, we must admit the counterpart, the individual is compelled by society only when he chooses to comply. At best it can only impose alternatives, and he may, at times, reject the alternatives and himself impose an entirely new issue. The individual is a self-complete system of purposes and capable of introducing into the group elements not previously there.

Tiele's answer to the allegation that Christ's originality is revoked by the discovery that his doctrines are to be found in the Greek and Jewish thought of the day, is a complete reply. "Even if the whole gospel had been compiled from a great variety of Jewish and Greek writings," says Tiele, "yet two incontestable facts, which are in reality one, still remain. One is, that all the truths, which are said to have been recognized already, are here reduced to one great principle; and the other, that one person was the prime mover, who realized that principle in himself and his life, and by so doing aroused enthusiasm for it in his disciples." [*Elements of the Science of Religion*, I, 253–4. See Art. Jesus Christ, in Hastings' E.R.E. VII.] Thus, though "even the greatest religious personality known to history influenced and was influenced by tradition, alike in his work and his development, this did not diminish his originality, for the old becomes new

when appropriated and applied by a deep and original genius." [Harold Höffding, *The Philosophy of Religion.*] Mohammed may have used as his models, now Judaism, and now Christianity; he may have woefully misunderstood the historical basis as well as the spiritual essence of both systems; yet he tempered them with his own spirit and with the peculiar mental standpoints of his people, giving to the product, by virtue of his creative personality, an individuality all its own.

This is why he, who once through Arabia was driving camels, was soon to drive half the world.

We must not, on the other hand, forget that instance after instance has shown us, in the social or political conditions of the tribe or nation, needs that call forth the new religion, a divinity that shapes the Messiah's ends, rough hew them how he may. Though the Messiah may initiate, he does so profitably only when there is a certain predisposition on the part of the group, a predisposition fostered by untoward circumstances. In practically all of these messianic manifestations we find the individual responding, as does also the group, to the higher law of self-preservation, a law operative under its own appropriate conditions, and expressive of how society and the individual behave under such compulsions. In the words of William James, "Social evolution is the resultant of two wholly distinct factors,— the individual, deriving his peculiar gifts from the play of physiological and intra-social forces, but bearing all the power of initiative and origination in his hands; and, second, the social environment, with its power of rejecting both him and his gifts. Both factors are essential to change. The community stagnates without the impulse of the individual. The impulse dies away without the sympathy of the community." [*The Will to Believe*, 232. New York, 1898.]

There is that much truth and no more in the historian's assurance that "a great king is the result of a great need"; that "When the nation is sore beset, when the times are full of presage of disaster, and ruin hangs ominously on the horizon; then the great king comes to rescue his people from danger, to restore order and well-being, and to reign over a

realm once more made happy and prosperous by his efforts." [Stanley Lane-Poole, *The Moors in Spain*, 98. New York, 1898.]

Does the Group Transcend the Messiah or the Messiah the Group? [1]

The messianic religions which we have seen at work furnish examples of genuinely individual initiative, efficient in giving new trend to the social development. A school of sociologists would assure us that this is, after all, but the response of the individual to the call of the social, that the individual is but the vehicle of society's purpose, and that he initiates only when, because, and in so far as society wills such initiative. It seems clear that society must be in some such state of preparedness and willful seeking as adverse circumstances indicate. The Messiah cannot save a people which is so self-satisfied that it feels no need of salvation. But, as our examples abundantly show, he can supply that need by rousing the group to a new realization of their actual or supposed needs. To do this is to make the group receptive. So far is this individual directive force from being always in accord with the group's well-wishing, that it frequently works the group's undoing. Such was the case when the Eskimo of South Greenland became so absorbed in the new doctrine enunciated by their Messiah, Habakkuk, as to discontinue hunting and live off the provisions of the previous winter. The Guiana Indians were so obsessed by the Messiah's words as to act upon his assurance that all must die within three nights, each to fall by the hand of his fellow, in order to secure resurrection in white skins wherein to repossess the land that was fast being wrested from them. Some four hundred people felled each other in a bloody massacre which, even so, was not gory enough to entail the promised reward. Scarcely less misfortune came upon the group of Cretan Jews who followed their false Messiah of the fifth century, Moses, to their woeful undoing.

[1] The author has discussed a similar problem in an article, "Individual Initiative and Social Compulsion," *The American Anthropologist*, Dec., 1915.

In these and similar instances the individual mind is, so far at least as this religious life is concerned, the larger mind, comprising within its purposes the social mind and prescribing the program which the social is to adopt and pursue. This adoption and adherence on the part of the social is often independent of the group welfare, or even works against it. Yet so completely is the group held in the grip of the individual that its impulse to respond sweeps aside every consideration of welfare, every faculty of critical judgment, all taint of scepticism.

Is this individual dominence as real and ultimate as it is specious? As happened in the Guiana tribe, we may find an unfavorable reaction upon the part of society once its delusion and deception is comprehended by it. There is revolt from the indoctrinated faith and perhaps death for the hypnotiser. Society is once more in the ascendant, having recognized the error into which the individual has led it. Thus the reality and the ultimate triumph of the social dominance seems assured.

Is this recurrence of social authority merely the rebound of the social to its own, or but a temporary restoration, only to become subject, again and again, to individual mind?

An Eskimo community furnishes an instructive example of this interplay of social and individual forces. In the Eskimo community it is not uncommon for some individual gradually to acquire more and more wealth than his fellows and, *pari passu*, to rise in influence. He may brutally dominate the community until every member of it is in fear of his life, none of them daring to gainsay him. But a time comes when this man of wealth must give away to the community all of his acquisitions — or suffer death for his failure to comply with the community's demand. The man who dominates the community, killing, by caprice, this or that individual who is displeasing to him, keeping every member of it in fear of his life, is eventually overthrown, for finally the community summons up courage to kill him and appoints some one to carry out this punishment. Society is again in the ascendant and, although other individuals will, from time to time, repeat the aggression, the community will, in the

case of each of them, eventually brush them aside, persist in its own way, and triumph in its own strength. So it was with the " tyrant " of Ancient Greece. [For the Eskimo see especially Nelson's account in the 18th Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology.]

The sociologist, however, will not be warranted in drawing over-much comfort from such instances. The only reason that society seems to revert to the ascendancy as one temporarily surrendered is because, in the recital of the circumstances, we start with the individual and stop with the group, whereas we have no right to start or to stop with one rather than with the other. So far as the phenomena of recurrence are available they afford not a permanent ascendancy marked by periodic lapses of one authority rather than the other, but an endless series, a cycle of individual and social authority.

This group seems ultimately to transcend *this* individual; but it is not the same group, neither in its sociological nor in its psychological make-up, as that which was previously at the beck and call of the individual. If, then, we retain the sameness in individual and group, respectively, we at once pass into the infinite series of which a cycle is the only way of representing respective dominance.

Nor is it clear in what helpful sense we may allege that the Messiah dominates only when society wills it. We find this dominance when society wills otherwise. It is true in the sense that an army surrenders only when it wills to do so. Yet this willing occurs under such untoward circumstances, when the act of surrender contravenes its more inclusive purposes and expresses the fulfilment of the broader purposes of the enemy, that we may well speak of its surrender as compelled by the foe rather than the result of its own choice. How we explain or express it depends upon our point of view in describing, since dominance involves always two factors, and the phenomena can be described from the point of view of the interests and activities of the dominating, or from those of the dominated. Our interests usually hover about the fulfilment of the larger systems of purposes rather than of smaller ones; wherefore, we prefer to say, The man feeds

or beats the dog, rather than the equally true and necessary corollary, The dog permits itself to be fed or beaten. When the dog procures food by self-initiated tricks familiar to itself and to its master, we may prefer to say, The dog secures food from the master, rather than The master gives the dog food. But our preference has not hit upon any greater truth. The student of animal psychology will prefer those expressions which describe the circumstances from the point of view of the interests and activities of the dog.

In a precisely similar manner the social psychologist may persist in his attitude with regard to the reality and permanence of the social as contrasted with the illusoriness of the individual, in this case, the messiah, since he has chosen the social point of view for the orientation of his phenomena, and his descriptions come necessarily from the social angle.

The ultimate reality of society is no more a fact than the ultimate reality of the individual. Each society is member of a larger society from which many influences and tendencies — if not all of them! — have come. Any given society may — shall we say must? — be considered the resultant of continuous historical influences reaching back into the remotest past and touching every form of previous social life.

The motives which lead the sociologist to resolve the Messiah into mere social and historical antecedents will logically compel him to dissolve the social group into similar historical antecedents. To do this is to give up the problem of society versus the individual. The positing of such a problem involves the treatment of society and individual as distinct and self-complete, if reciprocal units.

Thus the social influences are — like the gravitational — one of the dimensions in which the Messiah must realize himself. His development will be conditioned by many phases of the social dimension whose determinations more intimately concern individual psychology than does any physical dimension which circumscribes individual action. Yet oxygen and the gravitational forces are as necessary to the Messiah as are favorable social atmosphere and impetus. Nor, for that matter, does wisdom flourish without physiological nourishment: —

The empty spit
Ne'er cherished wit;
Minerva loves the larder.

The Messiah craves the social nourishment as well. When, however, all has been said, the social seems merely a polarity or a dimension in which his personality finds meaning and by which it is conditioned in its expression. How could it come within the grasp of individual mind if individual mind were not a self-sufficient reality? Though social influences are largely responsible for the ability of the individual to grasp their meaning, he creates them as truly as they create him. As Goethe says,

Der Mensch erkennt sich nur im Menchen, nur
Das Leben lehret jedem was er sei,—

but this is equally true of the group, for it, too, comes to its own only as member of a larger group.

" All men's minds, they say," remarks Pindar, " are stirred by whatsoever wave at the instant rolleth nearest to the mainsheet of the ship "; but each is wafted according as he turns his sails, and the Messiah may so trim them as to make headway even against an adverse wind.

The Mission of Jesus

In his book on *The Religious Life* Émile Durkheim has referred to the prejudice entertained by many people toward a comparative study of religion if that study includes an account of their own religion. This fact, which probably all of us have observed, has its explanation in human psychology.

The prejudice is no doubt in large part due to the fact that the religious devotee looks upon such an objective study as disregarding the essential elements in his religion and thus giving it a distortion that is little short of misrepresentation. At best it disregards the purport and inner meaning of the religion. It leaves him with much the same feeling he has when, in reply to his incisive arguments, he is told that he has uttered six hundred monosyllabic and twice as many

polysyllabic words punctuated with fourteen commas and sixteen periods. Here is truth but here also is a blatant disregard of the meaning and purpose of the argument.

A classification of philosophers in terms of weight, complexion, and stature may be a model of truthfulness as well as of inaptness, and may afford a minimum of amusement to the serious student of the history of thought. Such classifications are, however, permissible if they serve a purpose. There are times when we wish to view phenomena from a new or unaccustomed angle in order to form an estimate from that point of view. Nor can there be any valid objection to this form of occupation. An objection is not in order until it be insisted that this is the only method of estimation.

If, therefore, we wish to view a messianic religion from a historical, a geographical, or a comparative point of view, is there a valid objection? This does not preclude other methods of approach or diverse angles of interpretation. Let all interpretations be taken for what they are severally worth. Christianity like any other faith can be viewed from various angles, as can also the career of Jesus, the Messiah whose claims are accepted by the devotees of this faith.

The historian will at once ask for the historical background of the life of Christ. [" The cultured man of to-day is a person who thinks historically, and can construct his future only by means of historical self-knowledge. This holds good for every sphere of life, even for the religious sphere."] That background has been given in preceding pages. A moment's retrospect will show us that he inherited the traditions of the prophets; that he lived in a time when messianic prophecies were rife; that the times called for national salvation; that the gospels declare his consciousness of these needs. Opinions may differ and do differ, as to the conditions under which Jesus discovered his messiahship, interpreted the details of his task, and made known his mission to his disciples; but " it is now almost universally admitted that Jesus knew himself as the Messiah, that personal representative of Jahweh for whom Israel

waited and for the signs of whose appearing they searched heaven and earth."

The historian will remind us also, that "a prevalent belief among the Jews fixed the duration of the world at seven thousand years, of which six were nearly expired,— the remaining thousand being the Messiah's triumphant reign. In the calamities of the time, it was felt that 'the whole creation groaned and travailed in pain' for the birth of the coming One; and the 'seventy weeks' predicted in the Book of Daniel were by the general interpretation just fulfilled. 'Through the whole East,' says Suetonius, 'an old and constant opinion had spread that the destined rulers of things should come about this time from Judaea.' 'When you bury me,' said a dying Jew, 'put shoes on my feet and a staff in my hand, that I may be ready when Messiah cometh.' Many a man, 'just and devout was waiting (like Simeon) for the consolation of Israel'; many a mother hoped in her heart that her new-born child should be the expected one." [J. H. Allen, op. cit., 393–4.]

Little wonder, then, that Jesus was asked whether he were the expected one or they should wait for another. For, "in Judaea expectation was at its zenith. Holy persons — such as old Simeon, who, legend tells, held Jesus in his arms (Luke ii, 25–32), Anna, daughter of Phanuel, regarded as a prophetess — passed their life about the temple, fasting and praying that it might please God not to withdraw them from the world till he had shown them the fulfilment of the hopes of Israel. We are conscious of a brooding life, the approach of something unknown.

"This confused mixture of clear views and of dreams, this alternation of deception and hopes, these aspirations ceaselessly driven back by an odious reality, found at last their expression in the incomparable man to whom the universal conscience has decreed the title 'Son of God'— most justly, since he has given to religion a direction which no other is or probably ever will be able to emulate." [E. Renan, *The Life of Jesus*, 89–90. Boston, 1896.]

Some response to these demands was almost inevitable: "The Sibylline mystics at Alexandria, the poets at Rome,

the peasants in Syria, were wound up to the expectation of ' some beginning of a new order of the ages,' some hero ' who from Palestine should govern the habitable world,' some cause in which ' the East should once more wax strong.' " [A. P. Stanley, Lectures on the History of the Jewish Church, III, 415. New York, 1906.]

In the days of the prophets the word " Messiah," " the anointed one," was used most frequently when the prophet had in mind the clash of nations, dynasty succeeding dynasty, and empire overthrowing empire. The anointed of Israel is a Son of David who will come to overthrow all of Israel's foes. In the lifetime of Jesus and from the very province in which he lived, Galilee, Messiahs had appeared making claim to be national saviors. Of these events the Man of Nazareth was surely aware, and to him the word Messiah would inevitably suggest a powerful historical king, a warrior, an army, a resistless revolution. [See on this point *Jesus Christ*, Hastings' E.R.E., VII, 517.]

Certainly neither his followers nor his enemies dissociated his mission from political aspirations. That they entertained a belief in the political character of his messiahship is abundantly shown by the story of Herod's attempt to kill the babe, and by the charges brought before Pilate that he claimed to be king of the Jews. It is significant, too, that this claim his accusers stressed more than the claim that he was the Son of Man or the Son of God, since the two latter in their eyes constituted blasphemy, while it was not considered blasphemy to claim to be the Messiah.

While there is no doubt that these were the claims of both friends and enemies, there is as little doubt that they were not the claims of Christ. He was the child of his age, to be sure, but he was also the parent of a new doctrine. The messianic hope was taken up by him but it was given out as a new doctrine, transfused with a new meaning; with a meaning so utterly different from the time-honored interpretations that neither friends nor enemies could, at the time, apprehend its meaning. He was a national savior but not a political savior. Other ills he saw and other remedies. Israel was to be saved, but not by acquiring the coveted

political domination. The kingdom was a reality but not one made with hands, not resplendent with political glory, honor at home, and dominion abroad. There were other worlds to conquer and other weapons of warfare to forge. Only gradually did his followers grasp a thought so far in advance of their age, only gradually did they ascertain the demands of the Messiah whose claims they had admitted.

When, therefore, we compare Jesus with the other Messiahs, whether of his race or of another, we are struck by two outstanding facts: a remarkable similarity and a remarkable difference. The conditions which called forth the messianic claim are remarkably like those which have called forth messianic claims in other times and other climes; the response to these demands was a unique response, a filling of the old bottles with new wine, a quenching of the thirst by a new draught. Moreover, this unexpected response to the demands brought about a transformation in those demands themselves. As his followers were given other than they had asked, so they came to ask other things. The new fulfillment in itself created a new demand and a new attitude. Thus the Christ who was the product of his age became the creator of a new age.

[Ch. IX, Christianity, in C. H. Moore, *The Religious Thought of the Greeks from Homer to the Triumph of Christianity.* Cambridge, 1916. B. I. Bell, Goodness and Religion, *Atlantic Monthly*, October, 1916, Vol. 118, p. 363, Sect. IV, on Messiah, *Dict. of Christ and the Gospels*, II, 177. J. H. Allen, op. cit., 405ff. A. M. Fairbairn, *The Philosophy of the Christian Religion*, 12, 314–5, 399–402. New York, 1909. O. Stearns, The Aim and Hope of Jesus, published in, *Christianity and Modern Thought.* Boston, 1891. R. H. Hutton, *Theological Essays*, 295ff. Theo Parker, *Views of Religion*, 261. Boston, 1890. R. M. Wenley, *The Preparation for Christianity in the Ancient World*, 131ff. New York, 1898. W. Sanday, *Outlines of the Life of Christ*, Ch. VI, The Messianic Crisis. New York, 1905. Ernest Renan, *The Life of Jesus*, esp. 252–93. Boston, 1896. R. Rhees, *The Life of Jesus of Nazareth*, Pt. II, Ch. VI. The Messianic Call. New York, 1908. W. Whipple, *The Story-*

Life of the Son of Man. New York, 1913. A. Harnack, *What is Christianity?* New York, 1901. E. A. Bosworth, *Studies in the Teaching of Jesus and His Apostles.* Pt. I, Jesus' conception of Himself and his Mission. New York, 1911. Shailer Mathews, *The Gospel and the Modern Man,* 10ff, 81–6. F. W. Farrar, *Life and Works of St. Paul* 37, 83–5. New York, 1893. C. Geikie, *Life and Words of Christ,* 2 Vols. New York, 1890. A. Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah,* 2 Vols. New York, 1899. L. H. Miller, *Our Knowledge of Christ. An Historical Approach.* New York, 1914. F. G. Peabody, *Jesus Christ and the Christian Character,* 45ff. New York, 1906.]

Was this not the fulfilment of the prophecy of Isaiah: "And there shall come forth a sprig out of the stem of Jesse and a branch shall grow out of his roots; and the spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him, the spirit of wisdom and of understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and of the fear of the Lord; the delight of whose life shall be the fear of the Lord. And he shall not judge after the sight of his eyes, neither reprove after the hearing of his ears. But with righteousness shall he judge the poor and reprove with equity for the oppressed of the earth; and he shall smite the tyrant with the rod of his mouth and with the breath of his lips shall he slay the wicked. And righteousness shall be the girdle of his loins, and faithfulness the girdle of his reins. The wolf also shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid; and the calf and the young lion and the fatling together; and a little child shall lead them."

. . . . . .

There is some truth in Oesterley's insistence that messianism, in its widest sense, redemption from present ills by supernatural means embodied in a personality, is elemental, one of the common characteristics of man. It is deeply embedded in human nature and finds a responsive chord in almost every environment.

There is some truth, too, in his further association of the messianic idea with a dualistic conception of life. When the world is conceived of, as almost always it is conceived, as a

world in which two masterful and opposing powers are operative, the good and the evil, the messiah will be closely linked with the forces of good. This is one reason why the predominance of evil is the harbinger of the messiah; this is why his coming is heralded by wars and calamities manifold. The height of the evil power calls forth the greatest resistance from the good, and Anti-Christ will summon the messiah.

The Heilbringer, or culture-hero, is, however, a type of philosophy rather than a true precurser of the messiah, though Oesterley would imply that the culture-hero is the messiah's distant prototype. Very vaguely can a relationship here be traced, for the messiah is almost always other than the culture-hero. The latter may at most be taken as a sort of John the Baptist of messianism, not its immediate inspiration. [See W. O. E. Oesterley, *The Evolution of the Messianic Idea: A Study in Comparative Religion.* London, 1908.]

So thoroughly did the times foster the ambitions of the Messiah that one scholar has ventured to declare none of them a creative genius. "They never dominated their time," declares Schindler. "They never dominated their time: on the contrary, they were carried away with the current. They never moved the masses; they rode on the crest of the popular wave. They were merely the supply to a public deman. Their Messianic assumptions, sincere or hypocritical, became possible only on account of a popular hope in the appearance of such a person. None of them appeared at a time of national prosperity; they all without exception stepped upon the stage in times of calamity. They could grow only upon ground fertilized by misery. Whenever the national wretchedness had become unbearable, whenever the spirit of the people had become so depressed that they despaired of themselves, the hope sprang up that help must come from outside, from above: that a man must appear who would improve their condition. But at such times of calamity the human judgment becomes biassed, and the reasoning powers lose their normal strength. A drowning man will cling to a straw: so a nation in despair will cling to the most childish hope." [Op. cit., 154–5.] But, in the

fine phrase of Alfred Loisy, "To keep a firm hold on life man has need of hope as an indispensable anchor. An illusion is not vain which gives one the courage to face unavoidable deprivations." [*The War and Religion*, 38. English translation by Arthur Galton. Oxford, 1915.]

With assurance, then, we may declare that, "to understand the Christian movement one must see it as related to the stream of Jewish life which shaped a new ethnic epoch in the first quarter of the second century before Christ. Palestine long before the time of Christ had been incapable of supporting all the Jews, and the stress of economic need had scattered enormous numbers of Jews throughout the entire world. On the whole, these Jews of the Dispersion sympathised with the less privileged classes of Palestine and constituted a body of men and women possessed of much the same social mind and enriched with the same national ideals as those of the common people and the Pharisees in Palestine. The great hope of divine deliverance which nourished them sprang from the economic and political situation into which foreign nations had forced them." But we must not forget that, though sprung from economic and political conditions, its energies were directed to other ends, inasmuch as it transcended the conditions out of which it originated. "By the time it became one of the world movements throughout the Roman Empire it was recognized by its adherents as neither political nor economic, but that thing which so many 'materialist' interpreters of history fail to estimate justly, a supernatural religion. And it was as a religion avowedly supernatural that Christianity moved out into history and wrought its changes. Here again it is possible to see a spiritual tendency as a social movement breaks away from the conditions which gave it rise and becomes on its own account an independent cause." [Shailer Mathews, *The Spiritual Interpretation of History*, 53–7. Cambridge, 1916. In this connection see the account of the Messianic Hope given in E. Schürer, *A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ*, 2nd Division, Vol. II, 126-87. English translation. Edinburgh, 1890.]

As Shailer Mathews has well expressed it, Jesus "was in-

tegrated in the social currents of his day. It would be indeed difficult to think of him as developing his particular message of divine salvation in the midst of any other surroundings than those of the Jewish people. But after the hopes and prayers of Pharisaism, the passions and beliefs of the Jewish piety of his day, had passed through his own individual experience, they became something new. Scattered parallels, similarities in words between Jesus and the philosophers of Greece or the master rabbis of the Jews, are beside the mark. They no more account for Christianity than chemical elements out in the sunlight account for acorns. Acorns are made of such elements after they have been manipulated by some tree. Jesus contributed himself and his individual experiences to history and historical forces were recombined in him. He was indeed the Vine with branches." [*The Spiritual Interpretation of History*, 115–6. See the concluding pages of Heinrich Paulus, *Das Leben Jesu*, 2 vols, Heidelberg, 1828.]

While we remember the Vine, let us not forget the branches of individual contribution and unique value, of a life which, short as it was, changed the course of the ages.

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